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CRAWLEY.



ANNE LUTTRELL. MRS. HORTON.

Afterwards Duchess of Cumberland,

CRAWLEY:

GLIMPSES INTO THE PAST OF A

HAMPSHIRE PARISH.

BY

F. W. PLEDGE, M.A.

(Tutor to George Pelippi.)

“Every man’s concern with the place where he lives has something more in it than the mere amount of rates and taxes that he has to pay.”

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CRAWLEY.

CHAPTER I.

THE BARROWS.

It is not the writer's intention to follow the precedent, set by the illustrious "Knickerbocker" * in his history of New York, and to begin with a discussion of the theories of the Creation. Still, as all history may be said to start with geology, it is perhaps necessary in dealing with the remote origin of Crawley as the habitation of man, briefly to touch upon its soil and situation. For by these the destiny of every place is determined. The village rests on a spur of the South Downs,† between the valleys of the Test and Itchen. Beneath a thin layer of loam lies a bed of flint-bearing chalk, many hundreds of feet deep. This chalk is very tenacious of water which circulates freely only in the faults and cracks, penetrating it in all directions. Consequently, a supply of water can be obtained only by sinking wells to a great depth below the line of saturation, in order to tap some of the fissures. Nevertheless, after very rainy seasons surface springs reveal their presence by flooding the hollows. This

* A pseudonym adopted by the famous American writer, Washington Irving.

† A line of chalk hills extending from the middle of Hampshire eastward to Beachy Head.

occurs notably on the road to the Sombornes, which diverges from the Stockbridge road near the Rack and Manger Inn, formerly known, by reason of the floods, as the "Deluge Hut." Occasionally these floods assume quite serious proportions. For instance, at Rookley in January, 1841, the water was over four feet deep, rising so rapidly and flowing with such power that the inhabitants dared not go to bed, fearing that their houses would be washed away. However, such phenomena are exceptional, and Crawley more often suffers from dearth of water,* confirming the old jingling rhyme as to Hampshire fields requiring "every day a shower of rain, and on Sundays twain."

This being the case, and the art of well-sinking appearing at a comparatively late period of man's history, it may safely be assumed that the locality offered little attraction to palæolithic man. He preferred the river valleys. But, doubtless, he wandered over the downs with his scanty flocks, and perhaps occupied land in the neighbourhood of Crawley with the object of quarrying for flint, the quality being serviceable for tools and weapons, as it flakes easily, unlike that found in lower levels. As a matter of fact there still exist numerous pits which appear to have been excavated for some such purpose. With the rude implements possessed by the people the task of quarrying the chalk must have been far from an easy one, although chalk, from its tendency to become broken by the action of frost, is less difficult to work, even

* It is probably owing to the frequent dearth of water that the village is known in the locality as "Crawley God help us!"

with only a pick of deer's horn, than is supposed. With such tools the little, dark-haired, long-headed Iberian toiled, seeking a precarious livelihood in the primæval forest, which then covered the uplands and sheltered the wolf and elephant.* In the course of time the cave-dweller went down before a superior race, and disappeared, leaving behind him no trace of his language and little of his life, save his bones in the banks of the Test, near Stockbridge.

The newcomers from the Continent were a taller, stronger, fair-haired, round-headed race, known as the Goidels. But their superiority was not physical only. Their victory was that of a higher civilization armed with more perfect weapons. They shaped and polished their flints with wonderful skill,† and left behind them, that most enduring of all monuments, an earthen burial mound on Crawley Down. Where men are buried there men have lived. It is probable then that one of the successive swarms of these Keltic invaders gave the first permanent settlers to Crawley. For, while the Iberian was nomadic, the Kelts from the first were more stationary and tilled the land. With the introduction of bronze they would be able to begin the systematic clearing of the forest, a task beyond the power of the Iberians, who possessed only the roughest flint axes, liable to fracture.

To this period may be assigned the ring-barrows, on Crawley and Littleton downs, which are probably

* Elephant bones have been found near Winchester. Probably at this time England was still united to the Continent.

† The local reader should visit the splendid Rosehill collection, lent by the Earl of Northesk to Winchester Museum.

not less than 4,000 years old. The trench and bank, which give the name to this form of barrow, were possibly designed to prevent the exit of the spirit. A dread of injury by the spirits of the dead has been common to many savage and semi-civilized peoples, and it may well be that by means of this trench it was thought that danger might be averted and the dead kept within the tomb.

The first Keltic conquest was followed many centuries later by a second invasion, that of the Belgae, whom Cæsar found in possession. These later invaders certainly used bronze generally and may have introduced iron. They spoke a language akin to Welsh or Gaelic, traces of which survive in local place names, *e.g.*, *lann*, a house, in Lainston (formerly Lanstone). The round barrow on Crawley down is probably the burial place of some local chieftain of one of their petty septs or clans. A clump of trees marks the site of this tumulus, and beside it are plain indications of two ring-barrows. Here, as is often the case, the people of the bronze age appear to have chosen the neighbourhood of the burial sites of the people of the stone period for their own interments, and thus to have attributed a sanctity to the graveyards of their predecessors. There are other points to be remarked about the site. It is just at the water-parting of the Test and Itchen, whence are visible across miles of open country some of the highest points in Hampshire. The Kelts often chose sites for burial places "at the source of living water," which seems to have been recognised by those ancient races as emblematic of

the renewal of life and, possibly, of a future existence. We need not be at a loss for another reason why such a spot should be selected. For, as the object of the mound itself was to be a memorial of those buried within it, so it is natural that such a position should be chosen as would allow it to be generally and constantly seen. The proofs of early occupation are not confined to graves alone. There are also the earthworks, intended to serve as castles of refuge in times of danger, at Ashley and on Stockbridge down (Woolbury Rings). These camps, as always, are found in open areas and on high ground. They do not appear to have been permanently inhabited, and their size would point to a considerable population scattered about the vicinity.

It is mainly from their graves, however, that our knowledge of this people is obtained. More is known, therefore, of their method of burial than their mode of life. The body is almost always found to have been laid upon the side in a contracted position with the knees drawn up towards the head, which is generally more or less bent forward. Many suggestions have been made for this settled practice. But it may be observed that most savages sleep in this position. Where the sleeping place was not well protected against the cold and when covering for the body at night was scanty, the contracted position was best adapted to afford warmth. What then was more natural than that the body should be interred in the position of rest? Again the general rule with them seems to have been to place the body on the S.E. side

of the barrow. It is probable that the desire to face the sun guided them in this, as it has other people. The feeling still exists, for the prejudice against burying on the north side of the church is still strong; a feeling to which the churchyard at Crawley bears testimony. In some cases the body has been burnt before burial, and in nearly all fire has been applied. It has been suggested that the application of fire ultimately became merely a representative rite. It would appear that the body was usually buried in its every day clothing, largely consisting of skins, and from evidence it is found that the wardrobe of these ancient people was not slenderly provided, and that "notwithstanding the popular notion about our naked and painted ancestors, they wore clothes and were sometimes, if not always, buried in them." *

The barrows do not afford much information upon which to build any theory respecting their religious ideas, nor indeed could much be looked for. The practice of burying various articles in the grave and placing food vessels beside the dead has been looked upon as a belief in a future state of existence. These vessels have generally been broken before burial, the object being to set free their spirit so that they may be of use in the spirit world.† It necessarily follows that, if a belief in a future state is held to be proved by the occurrence of weapons, tools, ornaments, and food associated with the corpse, the second life must be supposed to have been similar in kind to the first

* *Vide Greenwell, British Barrow.*

† This practice is almost universal among primitive peoples, even at the present day.

one which had just ended. The occurrence of animal bones is very frequent. It is rare, indeed, to meet with a barrow without a number of them being found within the mound. They are nearly always broken, so as apparently to extract the marrow. There can be little doubt that these bones are the remains of feasts held at the time of the funeral or at some subsequent date such as its anniversary. Practices of a like kind have been common to many different peoples, and so prevalent was the custom in the early days of Christianity, that frequent orders were directed against holding feasts or sacrificing at the graves of the dead. They may also be remains of food offered to the dead, an observance which has prevailed in many countries and in various ages. In this case they would form part of the practice of the worship of ancestors, which has been a feature almost universal in the growth of the religious feelings of the human race.

Concerning the social condition of the people who erected these burial mounds, the barrows give us a very imperfect outline. Sufficient evidence, however, has been brought together to admit of some conclusions being arrived at, which are based upon the secure foundation of facts. The inhabitants had certainly advanced beyond the hunting and pastoral stages. They were possessed of domesticated animals, cultivated grain, manufactured cloth and pottery, and used implements of flint, deerhorn, and bronze. They lived in an organized condition of society, and must have been under a head, probably a chief of a sept or clan. They had unquestionably long passed beyond the

stage when the family is the only community. The extensive and strongly constructed defence works would themselves imply this, as they are indicative of a combination which necessitates a union of large bodies of men. There are on the other hand some features pointing to a state of things which ill accords with much advance beyond savagery. It can scarcely be questioned that it was the habit to slay at the funeral, and bury with the dead man, wives and slaves. The frequent occurrence of several bodies, all certainly interred at the same time, are incidents difficult to interpret in any other way.

The weapons and utensils found in the graves consist mainly of flint axes and hammers, rude pottery, and small bronze knives. The earthenware vessels discovered have not been baked in a kiln, but at an open fire. They have all been hand-made, not one showing any use of the wheel. As a rule they are, more or less, ornamented. In the greater number of the vessels stone and flint have been mixed with the clay. There is no appearance of any process of colouring or glazing having been employed. The ornamentation consists principally of "combinations of straight lines in an almost inconceivable variety." The patterns have been made by a sharp-pointed instrument drawn over the moist clay, by stamping with a narrow piece of bone or hard wood, by the impression of finger nails, and, most commonly, of a twisted thong. The bronze articles are rare, the reason being doubtless their value. The absence of bronze, however, may be used as an argument in

favour of the barrows belonging to "a time, if not antecedent to its introduction, at all events to one previous to its highest development."

To the heads of the small communities the barrows must be attributed. For it cannot be supposed for a moment that the whole population was buried in the sepulchral mounds. Had that been the case, the barrows would have been far more abundant than they are.* These mounds, therefore, must be regarded as the place of sepulture of chiefs of clans and families, or other persons in authority, claiming and being allowed a position of respect. The mass of the community were probably buried at no great depth beneath the surface, and with no mound over them to mark the spot.

A very important question is the date of the round barrows. It is, of course, impossible to attribute to them any but an approximate date. The use of iron was known in Britain at the time of Cæsar's invasion, B.C. 55, and its introduction may be placed with some degree of confidence as dating from about two or three centuries before the birth of Christ. The use of bronze for weapons and implements which preceded this time must have lasted over a lengthened period, for it is not possible otherwise to account for the perfection in manufacturing it, which they had attained. If 700 years be allowed as the time during which bronze was the metal used for making cutting tools, the date of the introduction of bronze may be estimated

* Besides those on Crawley and Littleton downs, there is one near Rookley, and another on the Leckford boundary of the parish.

as being somewhat about the year 1000 B.C. Thus Canon Greenwell. Other authorities assign a date not later than 1400 B.C. As regards the erection of the round barrows, the evidence seems to favour the view that the period must have been one when bronze was scarce or had only lately become known.

But, it may be asked, if the barrows are none of them the burial places of the people who occupied the country during the highest development of the bronze period, where do their graves exist? The question is one which it is not possible to answer. One can only urge that there are other periods during which the people must have been buried in large numbers, and yet there is scarcely a trace left of their remains. For example, the time which elapsed between the introduction of iron and the occupation of Britain by the Romans was by no means short, and yet there are few burials which can be assigned to that period. Adopting even the most conservative estimate, an age of not less than 2,500 years may be attributed to the round barrows, which is sufficient, at any rate, to justify the popular belief expressed in the words: "Crawley is a very old place."

CHAPTER II.

THE SAXONS.

THE only vestige of the four centuries of Roman rule to be found in Crawley, or its neighbourhood, is the great road which runs by New Barn farm from Winchester to Marlborough and Cirencester. There are no traces of any villa, though the remains of a small one have been found in Crab wood, near Sparsholt. Otherwise the nearest evidences of Roman occupation exist at Micheldever and Andover. Probably to the mass of the people the coming of the Romans meant little more than a change of rulers. The position of the conquerors in Britain was very like our own in India—that of a handful of civil and military officials eagerly looking forward to the expiration of their term of service. There was no extermination as in the later Saxon invasion, and the villages pursued the even tenor of their way. Perhaps the most momentous change for them was the appearance on the downs of the hornless sheep, which the Romans introduced.

But, if the advent of the Romans brought little change to the inhabitants of Crawley, their departure, in A.D. 411 was disastrous. Thenceforward continual swarms of Saxon invaders from the valley of the Elbe poured into England. In 495, under Cerdic and

Cynric, a horde passed up Southampton Water and established the kingdom of Wessex. Their victory was followed by the almost total extermination of the Keltic inhabitants of Hampshire, in whose desolated homes the newcomers settled, bringing with them their goods and families and national institutions. From them, doubtless, many of the villagers are directly descended. For soon after the arrival of the Saxons the recorded history of Crawley begins. From that time dates its name—Crawanlea,* the “glade of the crows.” This name and that of Sparsholt,† by their meaning, show that the country round about was still, in the main, forest-clad.

The subsequent history of the village is bound up with the foundation of the see of Winchester. For in 633 Birinus, “an holy preacher, being zealous to promote the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ and to sow the seeds of the holy faith in the innermost parts of pagan Britain, obtained a licence of Honorius, Bishop of Rome, for that end; and having been consecrated a bishop by Asterius, Bishop of Genoa, he sailed to Britain and landing in these parts which were then called the province of the Gewissas, set about his holy work: God was pleased to bless his endeavours so much, that he converted, not only a great number of the nobles and commonalty, but King Kynegils of Wessex himself, whom he baptised in the presence of Oswald, King of Northumbria. These two kings

* The name has no connection with chalk, as is sometimes supposed. There are several Crawleys in parts of England where there is no chalk.

† Termination “holt” means forest.

made Birinus bishop of Dorchester.* But, Kynegils dying and his son Kenewalch giving himself up to a debauched life for a time, till adversity brought him to repentance, the see remained unsettled; but he, becoming a Christian afterward, was far the more zealous and built the Church at Winchester, which his father had begun, adding to his father's gift of *all the lands seven miles round Winchester* the manors of Alresford, Downton, etc., for the maintenance of the Bishop and his clergy." This took place about the year 639.

Although Crawley is not specifically named in the above-recorded gift, it is necessarily embraced in the circuit of seven miles from Winchester, and from that date down almost to our own day it remained an episcopal manor. In the troublous centuries that succeeded, possession was doubtless rendered insecure by the loss, or destruction, of records and charters during the Danish invasions. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that on the establishment of peace, and of the supremacy of Wessex, the Church sought occasion to confirm its now doubtful tenure. Hence in the year 909 Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, solicited and obtained from King Edward the Elder a reissue of the grant of land at Crawley, which is recorded in the pompous and involved Latinity of the following charter:—

Donum Edwardi Regis to Crawanlea.

Clamante divinae auctoritatis agiographo commonemur ut terrena presentis saeculi lucra dantes caelestia aeternae beatitudinis emolumenta jugi indefessoque adquiramus labore.

* On the Thames, about sixteen miles from Oxford.

Ideoque incertum futuri temporis statum mutabilitatemque certis dinoscens indiciis totis viribus prout posse dederit qui cuncta creavit subnixae delibero ut redemptoris nostri possessionem aecclesiis jure delegatam in priorem sanctae religionis statum certis roboratam litterulis medullitus consolidarem.

Quapropter ego Eadward divina indulgente clementia Angul-Saxonum rex rogatus fui a meo dilecto episcopo Fridestano tempore quo diocesim Wentanae aecclesiae in duas divisi parrochias territoria aecclesiae Dei cui deserviebat pertinentia novis litterarum apicibus renovare et veterum librorum monimenta recenti recuperata auctoritate restaurare. Idcirco votis ejus libenter obtemperans renovare studui territorium illius telluris qua noto Cawanlea appellatur vocabulo quantitate xx et viii constans manentium xx scilicet aet Cawanlea et viii in Hundatune reverendae Trinitati beatoque Petro apostolorum principi ejusque coapostulo Paulo. Uti antecessores nostri priscis dederant temporibus renovando iterum devotus aeterna largior hereditate. Sit igitur praefatum rus cujus ego cum optimatum meorum consilio libertatem renovavi aeterna jocunditate gloriosum cum omnibus sibi rite pertinentibus Pratis videlicet Pascuis Silvis expeditionis laborem pontis arcisve restauratione tantummodo persolvat. Alias jocundetur aeterna libertate.

Si quis autem diaboli pellectus instinctu hanc perpetuam nostrae renovationis libertatem violare vel minuere audax praesumpserit a sancta corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Jhesu Christi communione et sancta Dei aecclesia ac sanctorum omnium contubernio segregatus aeterna inferni miseria dampnatus intereat si non satisfactione congrua humiliter correctus emendaverit quod contra nostrum tumidus deliquit decretum.

His limitibus hoc rus circumdatur.

Ærest to beast man léa. þonne norð to lunden haerpaðe.*
 spa to pinstantes stapole. of þam stapóle to þære díc. forð
 and lang díc. útt to straet. 7 spa suð 7lang díc. oð fora
 geán þane nīpan stán. þonne pest 7lang díc. óf þære díc
 innan sceaftes hangran. spa forð be aefisc tó fearn leage suð

be herpaðe. þonne to baccan geáte. 7 spa forð be efisc to lippan hame. þ to þam scamelan spa forð to beatan stapole. þæt pest 7lang daene to deopan delle. þæt pest 7lang slades to spinburnan. spa norð of þone æþena byrigels. þonne 7lang daene of feárn dune. þet forð to screotes dúne spa on saenget þorn. þet to trind lea. spa on beastman lea.

Ðis sind þa píć. ðe hyrað per to. Ærest aet ticcenesfelda píćum. spa norð 7lang hagan þæt man cymð to fearbúrnan. þæt forð to mearc déne heafdum. spa norð tó seaxes seaðe. spa suð þónan of hit cymð aeft to ticcesfeldes píćum.

To hundatúne.

Ærest fram ðaere ea foran gean þaes abbodes byrig. þonne spa norð and lang þaes grenan peges. tó crammaére. þonne þær úp to þam hricge. ðæt 7lang dúne to cealc grafan. þonne innan cealc grafan þóne pyl. spa on ðæt ruge dæl. ðonan east on þone peg. 7lang peges upp to þam ricge. spá norð to þám þórne. þær se stapul stent. spa 7lang peges to þam slade þonne be slade to þaere byrig. spa nyðer 7lang peges on þone forð. forþ be éa oð hit cymð aeft to þaes abbodes byrig.

✠ Ego Eadwardus Rex hanc restaurationem a me renovatam signum sanctae crucis propria manu scribendi firmavi.

✠ Ego Plegmund archiepiscopus mellifluam donationem prefati regis subscripsi cum signaculo sanctae crucis.

✠ Ego Frithestan episcopus cum consilio ejusdem regis hoc roboravi atque conexi cum triumpho regis aeterni.

+ Ego Wulsige episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Wighelm episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Ceolmund episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Æthelweald frater regis consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Æthelstan filius regis consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Ælfweard filius regis consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Osferd Dux consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Ordlaf Dux consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Beorhtulf Dux consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Ordgar Dux consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Heahferth Dux consensi et subscripsi.

Werulf, Adelstan, Beornstan, Ealhstan (Priests).

Deormoð, Wihlbroth, Odda, Ælwold, Ælred, Athulf, Æthelferth, Wulfhearth, Ælfric, Wulfhelm, Uffa, Ælfstan, Ælfred, Ælfstan, Wulfhere, Athulf, Wulfhun, Wullaf, Buga, Ælfreth, Æthelnoth, Wulfric (Ministers).

[TRANSLATION.]

Grant of King Edward to Crawanlea.

By the voice of the hagiographer of divine authority we are reminded to seek unwearyingly the heavenly rewards of eternal happiness by giving the earthly riches of this present life. Therefore discerning by certain signs the uncertain state and mutability of future time with all the strength that the Creator of the universe has given I resolutely determine to confirm the possession of our Redeemer lawfully assigned to the churches to the former state of holy religion assured by settled documents.

Wherefore I Edward by the indulgence of the divine clemency King of the Anglo-Saxons was asked by my beloved bishop Frithestan what time I divided the diocese of Winton into two provinces to regrant by new letters patent the domains belonging to the church of God whom he faithfully served and to confirm the records of ancient chronicles renewed by recent authority. Wherefore I gladly conforming to his wishes sought to restore the domain of that land which is called by the known appellation of Crawanlea consisting in extent of twenty and eight manses to wit twenty at Crawanlea and eight in Hundatune to the Holy Trinity and the blessed Peter chief of the apostles and his co-apostle Paul. As our predecessors in early times had given it so I devoutly renew the grant with eternal possession. Therefore let the aforesaid manor of which I with the counsel of my nobles have renewed the freehold be held in perpetual enjoyment with all meadows pastures and woods thereto duly belonging provided that it faithfully dis-

charge the duty of war service and the repair of bridge and castle. Otherwise let it be enjoyed in everlasting freedom.

But if anyone urged by the instigation of the devil daringly presume to infringe or to lessen the perpetual freedom of our new grant let him be cut off from the holy communion of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ from the holy church of God and the conversation of all the saints and perish doomed to the eternal misery of Hell unless by fitting reparation he atone for the offence which in his arrogance he has committed against this our decree.

By these limits is the manor bounded.

First at Beastmanlea ; then North to the Lunden highroad ;* so to Winstane's post ; from the post to the dyke ; forth and along the dyke to the street ; then South along the dyke, until over against the new stone ; then West along dyke ; from the dyke unto sheeps hanger ; so forth by the skirts of the wood to Farley, South by highroad ; then to the back gate ;† so forth by the skirts of the wood to Lippanham ; then to the scamelane so forth to Beatanpost ; thence West along dene to deep dell ;‡ thence West along the slades to Swinburn ; so North of the heathen burials ; then along the dene of Fardown ; thence forth to Screotsdown so on to the Mark Thorn ; thence to Trindlea ; so on to Beastmanlea.

These are the points which pertain thereto. First at Tichfield pike ; so North along the hedge until one cometh to Farburn ; thenceforth to Mark dene headland ; so North to Saxon pit (or spring) ; thence South until it cometh again to Tichfield pike.

To hundatune (Hunton).

First from the stream over against the Abbots grave ; thence North along the green way to Crammer ; thence up to the ridge ; along that down to the chalk pits ; then within the

* The word signifies Army Road, probably therefore the Roman Road.

† Near Lainston, now known as *Backet* Close.

‡ Now corrupted to *Dibdell's* field, etc., near the Rack and Manger.

chalk pits to the well ; so on to the soft dell ; thence East to the way ; along the way up to the ridge ; so North to the thorn where the post stands ; so along the way to the slade ; by the slade to the bury ; so down along the way to the ford ; forth by the stream until it cometh again to the Abbots grave.

✠ I Edward the King have confirmed this charter renewed by me by subscribing thereto with my own hand the sign of the holy cross.

✠ I Plegmund the archbishop have signed the mellifluous donation of the aforesaid King with the device of the holy cross.

✠ I Frithestan the bishop with the counsel of the same King have confirmed this and connected it with the triumph of the everlasting King.

+ I Wulsige the bishop have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Wighelm the bishop have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Ceolmund the bishop have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Æthelweard brother of the King have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Æthelstan son of the King have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Ælfweard son of the King have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Osferd Earl have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Ordlaf Earl have assented and subscribed thereto

+ I Beorhtulf Earl have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Ordgar Earl have assented and subscribed thereto.

+ I Heahferth Earl have assented and subscribed thereto.

It will be noted that neither the King nor any of the lay councillors could write, while the Archbishop, with the flattery of a true courtier, refers to the docu-

ment as a "mellifluous donation"—a term which would have come more appropriately from Frithestan, seeing that he was to enjoy the honey. The boundaries of the manor were inscribed in the "vulgar tongue" so that they might be "understood of the people," to whom the rest of the charter was unintelligible.

In the year 964 a fresh confirmation of the grant of Crawley and other episcopal manors was made by King Edgar, in the usual barbarous ecclesiastical Latin, as follows:—

Freols boc to Twifyrde 7 to Crawinglea.

Luce constat clarius quod hujus vitae terminus volubili varie discurrens orbita jamjamque imminere dinoscitur ut veridica Christi promulgat sententia quae altiboando proclamat dicens "Surget gens contra gentem et regnum adversus regnum" et reliqua.

Iccirco ego Eadgar Christi conferente gratia totius Angligenae nationis ceterarumque gentium Brittannica insula degentium rex gloriosus sancti spiritus carismate partim attactus mentis nostrae archano deliberare cepi atque optimatum meorum utens consilio patulo vocum proclamare iudicio.

Quanto inquam simulate transeuntis vitae gloria ut foeni flos velociter arescens deficit letalisque hujus vitae umbrificae finis imminendo incumbit, tanto etiam catholica christiane religionis studia totius virtutis adnisi restauranda et aecclesiarum possessione quaecunque oblitterata fuerant recuperanda fore nostrae mentis archano assidue rimamur. Hinc igitur lx et iv mansas viii^{to} locis distinctas quae his usualiter nuncupantur vocabulis. Tuifyrde, Crawinglea, Oselbyrig, Hefesylting, Hortun, Stoce, Oterburna, Ceoliglond, Eastun, Hundetun, ut a meis antecessoribus dudum supradictae Wintoniensi basilicae reverendae trinitati ejusque apostolis Petro atque Paulo aeterna largitae fuerant; ita hac nova cartula cum meorum auctoritate procerum Adelwoldo presule obtinente roboratas eterna humi-

lis renovo libertate. Sint autem omnia haec supradicta rura omni terrenae servitutis iugo libera tribus exceptis rata videlicet expeditione, pontis arcisve restauratione. Si quis autem hanc recuperatam moderni temporis libertatem violare presumpserit anathematizatus in domini persecutione horribiliter deficiat.

[TRANSLATION.]

Freehold Grant to Twyford and to Crawanlea.

It is established more clearly than the light of day that the term of this mortal life hastening with erratic and uncertain course is discerned to be impending every moment as the prophetic utterance of Christ openly foretells loudly proclaiming that "nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom" and so forth.

Wherefore I Edgar by the favour of Christ of the whole English nation and of the other races dwelling in the island of Britain glorious King participating in the grace of the Holy Ghost begin to deliberate in the secret recesses of my mind and taking the counsel of my nobles to set forth my will in the open evidence of words.

Inasmuch as (I speak in the guise of metaphor) the glory of this transitory life like the grass of the field quickly withers and perishes and the mortal end of this shadowy existence threatens us by its approach we earnestly seek in the inmost depths of our hearts to revive by the effort of our whole virtue the catholic zeal of the Christian religion and to restore to the possession of the churches whatsoever has passed away therefrom. Accordingly of sixty and four manses situate in eight several places which are commonly called by the names of Twyford, *Crawanlea*, Owselbury, Hefesylting (?), Horton, Stoke, Otterburne, Chilland, Easton, Hunton, as they were long ago granted for all time by my predecessors to the abovesaid cathedral of Winchester, to the Holy Trinity and the Apostles Peter and Paul so do I by this new charter with the authority of my nobles Adelwold being the chief humbly renew the grants as eternal freeholds. All these aforementioned manors shall

be free from the yoke of all land service with three exceptions to wit the statutory service in the field and the repair of bridge and castle. But if anyone presume to violate this freedom confirmed in modern time let him be accursed and perish miserably in the affliction of the Lord.

Even in the tenth century there were doubtless political gossips who discussed the scandals of the Court, and the crime of the author of this charter must have been still fresh in the memory of the people of Crawley. For only five years earlier in the forest of Wherwell the King had murdered Æthelwold, the thane of Sutton Scotney, being enamoured of his wife, the beautiful Ælfritha. Much misery was that day destined to bring on England. Twenty years later she conspired the death of the legitimate heir, Edward the Martyr, in favour of her bastard Æthelred, surnamed the Unready.* He it was who, by his cruelty and treachery, provoked the Danes to ravage the countryside, and initiated the fatal and humiliating policy of buying off the invaders. In the year of his accession he confirmed the tenure of Crawley and other manors in an extant letter. Written in Anglo-Saxon it runs thus:—

✠ Æthelred cynig gret Ælfric ealdorman and Wolmaer and Æthelweard, and ealle ða þegenas on Hamtunscire frunlice, and ic cyðe ðe and eow eallum ðaet Ælfheah biscop sende to me ðaes landes boc aet Ciltancumbe, and ic hi let redan aetforan me : ða licode me swyðe well seo gesetnesse and seo aelmesse ðe minne yldran on angunne Cristendomes into ðere halgan stowe gesetten, and ðe wisa cing Ælfred syððan ge-edniwode on ðaere bec ðe man aetforð me raedde. Nu wille ic ðaet hit man on eallum þingon for ane hide werige,

* Unready, *i.e.*, without "rede" or counsel.

swa mine ylðran hit aer gesetten and gefreodan, sy ðer mare landes, sy ðer lesse. Dus mycel is ðaes landes into Crawelea ii hida laes xxx

[TRANSLATION.]

Æthelred king greets Ælfric alderman and Wulmaer and Æthelweard, and all the thanes in Hampshire friendly, and I tell them and you all that Ælfheah bishop sent to me the land book at Chiltecumbe and I let it be read afore me: there liked me right well the bequest and gift which my forefathers at the beginning of Christendom bestowed on the holy place and the wise king Alfred since renewed in the book which was afore me read. Now will I that in all cases it be held hide for hide, just as my forefathers have erst bestowed and granted, be the land more, or be it less. Thus muchel is the land unto Crawelea, thirty hides less two

Though contemptible as a warrior with the craft and cruelty of a weak mind the "redeless" King planned the massacre of all the Danes in Wessex, many of whom were settled quietly in the country and living on friendly terms with their neighbours. This vile scheme was carried out on the festival of St. Brice, November 13th, 1002. The Danes naturally sought revenge, and under the fierce Swegen reduced Hampshire to a desert, burning Winchester, Southampton, and all the towns and villages in the district, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. The survivors had reason to rue the fateful hunt in the forest of Wherwell.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOMESDAY.*

WHETHER any of the inhabitants of Crawley participated in opposing the invasion of the Normans, can never be known. But it is possible that more than one of the villagers "wielded a stout axe or drew a good bow" at Hastings. For, although the majority of the clergy were pro-Norman in feeling, Stigand, the Bishop of Winchester, was a strong partisan of Harold. Further, it is known from the Domesday book that many of the inhabitants of West Tytherley, near Stockbridge, perished in the battle. This fact at least affords a strong presumption that the local levies appeared in the "fyrd" (or militia) of Wessex. But if the Domesday record throws no light on this point, it gives much information, in a condensed form, on the state of Crawley at this period. The entry is as follows:—

In Bitesiete Hundredo.†

Ipse episcopus tenet Crawelei in dominio. Semper fuit in episcopatu. T. R. E., et modo, se defendebat pro 6 hidis et dimidia. Terra est 14 carucatae. In dominio sunt 5 carucatae: et 6 villani et 25 bordarii, cum 7 carucis; et 20 servi et 26 acrae prati. Silva de porcis 15 et aecclesia. De hac terra

* The Domesday, so called from the Saxon "Domes daeg," meaning "day of judgment," is a statistical survey and record of ownership of land, made in 1086 by commissioners appointed by William the Conqueror.

† Now part of Buddlesgate Hundred.

hujus manerii tenet Hugo 3 hidas. Alwinus Stilla tenuit, in paragio, de episcopo; non potuit ire quolibet. Ibi, in dominio est una carucata: et 2 villani et 5 bordarii, cum 1 carucata. Ibi 9 servi. Silva de 6 denariis. T. R. E. totum manerium valebat 35 libras; et postea 28 libras. Modo, dominium episcopi, 35 libras. Quod Hugo tenet, 7 libras.

[TRANSLATION.]

The bishop himself holds Crawley in demesne. It always belonged to the Bishopríc. T. R. E. (*i.e., in the time of King Edward the Confessor*), it was, and is now, assessed at six hides and a half. The land consists of 14 carucates. Five carucates are in demesne; 6 villeins† and 25 bordars‡ with 7 ploughs (or *ploughteams*): here are also 20 serfs and 26 acres of meadow. Here is besides a church and woodland which furnishes 15 hogs. Of the land belonging to the manor Hugo holds 3 hidas. Alwin Still held them, in parcenary, of the Bishop and could not remove anywhere. There is in the demesne 1 carucate; 2 villeins and 5 bordars occupy 1 carucate. Here are 9 serfs and a wood worth sixpence. T. R. E., the whole manor was worth 35, and afterwards 28, pounds. The Bishop's demesne is now worth 35 pounds; what Hugo holds is worth 7 pounds.

Taking this extract in detail, the first point that arises is the area of the land under cultivation, which at once raises the vexed question of the "hide." If the orthodox "hide" of 120 acres is adopted, we arrive at an area of 780 acres. But there is the additional statement that there were fourteen carucates, or ploughlands. Now the carucate again is a variable measure, being as much as a plough could by course of husbandry plough in a year, and was divided into

† Villeins = those attached to a "villa" or manor. The word has gradually acquired its present evil signification.

‡ Bordarii = cottagers residing on the borders of a manor.

three equal parts, to be ploughed (i) in winter, (ii) in Lent, (iii) in summer for fallow. It varied in different localities according to the nature of the soil and the different modes of agriculture, and so may mean anything from 60 to 180 or more acres. This would give an area of 840 to 2,520 acres, exclusive of woodland. In view of this great discrepancy, it is perhaps safer to regard the "hide" in the light of Professor Maitland's theory as a "geldable unit" for raising the Danegeld.* Here, however, we are confronted by a fresh difficulty. For while Hugo's three hides are worth only seven pounds, the bishop's three and-a-half are worth thirty-five pounds. This difference may be accounted for by the fact that "demesne land" was usually free from paying the Danegeld.* If we are content to take the carucate of sixty acres as the basis of our calculation, we must regard the demesne land as an area of 300 acres, together with twenty-six acres of meadow and woods "which furnish fifteen hogs," that is, taxed in kind to that amount.

In the time of Edward the Confessor, three hides had been held "in parcenary" † by Alwyn Still,

* This tax, as its name implies, was originally raised to buy off the Danes, but ultimately became a levy for the defence of the realm. Originally 2s. per hide, it rose on at least one occasion in the reign of William I to 6s. Under William II (1087-1100) it was 4s., and fell to 3s. in the reign of his successor (1100-1135), to 2s. in the reign of Stephen (1135-1154), and finally expired under Henry II.

† This term, which is still used by lawyers to denote the joint tenancy of a copyhold, and its equivalent "in parage," are of frequent occurrence in the Hampshire Survey. Where a group of men is concerned their shares in land would be equal, whether arising from heirship or other cause. But the case of one man holding in parcenary is less easy to explain. Professor Maitland has suggested that this man would be one

“who could not move anywhere.” These words seem to imply a species of tenancy known as *métairie*, the occupant enjoying a life tenure, though without full freedom and possibly discharging the military service of the manor. Be that as it may, after the Conquest this land, which Mudie suggests may have been Hunton, passed into the hands of Hugo de Port. This gentleman derived his name from Port en Bessin, a fishing village, five miles from Bayeux in Normandy. He was clearly a vassal of William the Conqueror’s half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, from whom he held largely in Kent, and his son Henry still held in Normandy three knights’ fees in 1133. In addition to his fiefs in Normandy and Kent, Hugo held thirty manors in Hampshire, and many in other parts of the country. He established the head of his barony at Basing, and was an ancestor of the present Marquis of Winchester.*

Another interesting feature of this extract is the material which it gives for gauging the population of the manor in 1086. Taking the Bishop’s and

of the parceners, or partners, who would be answerable to the lord for the services of the whole holding. It is considered to have been a tenure of Norman origin; the term being often used when a younger brother held his fief of the elder and this one of a superior lord, both continuing in homage and service. The said Alwyn Still must have been either one of the class known as “lesser thegns,” or a “ceorl.” The latter were often “ascripti glebae,” that is, tenants for life attached to the soil.

* Adam de Port, lord of Basing, having married the daughter of the heiress of the St. Johns, William, his son by her, took on him the title of the St. Johns of Basing, and his successors retained it for several generations. But, issue failing, John de Philibert, marrying the eldest of the coheirs of Edmund de St. John, in King Edward III’s reign, became Lord of Basing; but he having no heirs, the honour fell to his youngest

Hugo's land together, a total is obtained of sixty-seven villeins, bordars and serfs, which implies a gross population of about 300. It now remains to consider the social condition of the inhabitants. As has been seen, the manor was composed of two parts, land in demesne, and land in villenage. The land in demesne consisted of the home farm and the portions held by the villeins in free tenure, at certain rents, in addition to their regular holdings. These rents were originally paid in produce, for which in later times a money rent was substituted. This was known as the "feorme," whence the designation of "farmer." The normal holding was the virgate, or yardland, consisting of about thirty acres, in scattered acre or half acre strips, each a furlong* in length and a perch or two in breadth, separated by turf balks, with rights of pasture over them, after the crops were gathered, as well as over the green commons of the manor. These holdings passed, by re-grant from the manorial lord, from one generation to another in unbroken regularity, always to a single successor, according to the custom of the manor—in the case of Crawley, to the youngest

sister Isabel, who was married to Sir Luke Poynings, by whom she had Thomas, Lord Poynings of Basing, father of Hugh who succeeded him in the title. After him it departed from the Poynings to the Pawlets. For Hugh, the last Lord of Basing of that family, had only one daughter, Constantia, who was married into the family of the Pawlets, and was grandmother of William Pawlet, created Lord St. John of Basing by King Henry VIII, and afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Marquis of Winchester.

* Furlong = furrowlong = 40 rods. A rood, therefore, corresponds with as many furrows in ploughing as are contained in one rod. In the time of Edward I the statute acre is defined as "40 perches in length and four in breadth."

son. Holdings, in consequence, often came to be known by the family name of the holders. Hence later the constant mention of "Alebroc's land," "Sewelle's" and "Moraunte's." The object of the re-grant referred to was not the preservation of the tenant, but of his services, as representing the yard-land, to the lord of the manor. But as it was impossible from the irregularity of the land and its boundaries to cut it up into an exact number of strips, little odds and ends of unused land remained, which from time immemorial were called "No man's land."

The chief services which the tenants were called upon to pay fall under three heads. Firstly, *weekly work* at ploughing, reaping, or carting, usually for two or three days a week, and mostly at harvest time. Secondly, "*precariae*," or "*boon days*," special or extra services which the lord had the right to require. Thirdly, *payments* in kind or in money at specified times, such as Easter, Michaelmas and Christmas dues, "churchshot,"* and contributions to the lord's taxes. The villeins held their land according to the oxen allotted to them, or contributed by them to the manorial plough teams, which consisted of eight oxen each, yoked four abreast, each villein usually contributing a pair. The best husbandman among them was elected *praepositus*, or reeve, and he was responsible for the cultivation of the arable land. The general character of the villein's services in the tenth century is set forth in detail in the document known

* A tax, often in kind, paid to the Church. Hence the frequent mention of "churchshot hens," which were given apparently at Whitsuntide.

as "Rectitudines Singularum Personarum." There it is stated that the villein's services are "various as on the land is fixed."

He shall pay land-gafol (rent) and grass-swine yearly and ride and carry and lead loads; work and support his lord and reap and mow, cut deer-hedge and keep it up, build and hedge and make new roads, pay kirkshot and almsfee, keep horseward and headward, go errands far and near wherever he is directed. He must work at week-work 2 days at such work as he is required through the year every week, and at harvest three days for week work, and from Candlemas to Easter three. If he do carrying he has not to work while his horse is out. He shall pay on Michaelmas day 10 gafol pence, and on Martinmas day 23 sesters of barley and 2 hens; at Easter a young sheep or 2 pence; and he shall lie from Martinmas to Easter at his lord's fold as often as he is told. And from the time that they first plough to Martinmas he shall each week plough one acre and prepare himself the seed in his lord's barn. Also 3 acres bene work and 2 to grass yrth. If he needs more grass then he ploughs for it as he is allowed. For his gafol yrthe he ploughs 3 acres and sows it from his own barn. And he pays his hearth-penny. Two and two feed one hound and each gebur (villein) gives 6 loaves to the swineherd when he drives his herd to mast He shall have given to him for his outfit 2 oxen and 1 cow and 6 sheep and 7 acres sown on his yardland. Wherefor after that year he must perform all services which pertain to him. And he must have given to him tools for his work and utensils for his house. Then when he dies his lord takes back what he leaves.

Below the villeins came the bordars, or cottier tenants, who generally possessed no oxen and therefore took no part in the ploughing. They performed other services and had small allotments in the common fields, about five acres in extent. They were bound

to work for the lord for a certain number of days a week, and their services were of the kind now most commonly rendered by the agricultural labourer.

The cottier's services are what on the land is fixed. He shall on each Monday work for his lord, and three days a week in harvest. He ought not to pay landgafol. He ought to have five acres to his holding, more if it be the custom on the land, and too little it is if it be less, because his work is often required. He pays hearthpenny on Holy Thursday as pertains to every freeman . . . and he pays his kirkshot at Martinmas.

The serfs were "landless men," dependent upon the lord or his tenants, to whom they were bound, doing any work allotted to them, but not enjoying freedom. Possibly they were originally ancient Britons reduced to servitude by the Saxons. At the time of the Domesday they were fast dying out, and constituted only nine per cent. of the total population of England.

Besides the services mentioned above there were other restrictions on freedom, which are continually illustrated by the manorial rolls. Such were the requirement of the lord's licence on the marriage of a daughter and the exaction of a fine in cases of incontinence, the prohibition of the sale of stock without the lord's permission, and the illegality of leaving the land without a licence.

Now this elaborate system of culture was no recent innovation, was not introduced by the Normans, but was already of great antiquity and had gradually grown up under the Saxons. This can be proved from many sources. That the scheme of open fields divided

into acre strips was already very old can be seen in the Saxon version of the story of the disciples walking through the cornfields. It describes them as walking over the "aecers." Obviously the translator in using the term had before his mind's eye the open fields round his native village; so he who walked over them walked over the acres. Again, the laws of Ine, King of Wessex, which date from 688, contain the following enactment:—

If ceorls have common meadow or other land divided into strips and some have fenced their strips, some have not and animals eat their common acres . . . let those go who own the gaps and compensate the others who have fenced their strips.

There is here complete evidence that in the seventh century the fields of Hampshire were common open fields divided into arable acres and strips of meadow, and as the system is incidentally mentioned as a thing existing as a matter of course, it is not likely to have been suddenly or recently introduced. The evidence throws it back, therefore, to the earliest period of Saxon rule.

There is later and interesting evidence, bound up with the origin of the tithes, to be found in the alleged but disputed donation by Æthelwulf of one-tenth of the land in England to the Church. There is nothing inherently impossible in the idea of every tenth strip ploughed by the common ploughs being devoted to the Church. The priest, like the reeve, smith, and carpenter, probably held his land free of any obligation to render services to the lord of the manor.

Perhaps their strips were ploughed by the common plough in return for their services without their contributing oxen to the team. At any rate, the laws of Æthelred (978-1016) contain the following clauses :—

And be it known to every Christian man that he pay his tithe rightly, always as the plough traverses the tenth acre, on the peril of God's mercy.

And we command that every man give his church-shot and just tithe that is *as the plough traverses the tenth acre.*

But, it may be asked, how was the common ploughing arranged? This is clearly shown in some old laws which declare that :—

Everyone is to bring his requisites to the ploughing, whether ox or irons, or other things pertaining to him ; and after everything is brought to them the ploughman and the driver are to keep the whole safely and to use them as well as they would their own. The driver is to yoke in the oxen carefully, so that they be not too tight or too loose ; and drive them so as not to break their hearts ; and if damage happen to them, he is to make it good, or else swear that he used them not worse than his own. After the co-tillage shall be ended, everyone is to take his requisites with him home.

So the common ploughing was arranged. The produce of partnership was also settled in accordance with immemorial custom. The first strip ploughed went to the ploughman, the second to the irons, the third to the outside sod ox, the fourth to the outside sward ox, the fifth to the driver, the others to the remaining oxen in order of worth. Further, if any dispute arose between the co-tillers as to the fairness of the ploughing, the common-sense rule was followed

that everyone's strip must be ploughed as well as the ploughman's. The land was generally ploughed twice; and it is probable that the ploughing was very shallow. The high price of iron and the rudeness of the ancient plough preclude the notion that the soil was turned over very effectually.

Much has been written on the depressed condition of the peasantry at this period, apparently without adequate justification. For while there were many restrictions on the freedom of the rural labourer, he certainly enjoyed some security of tenure. His work was, more or less, regulated by law, nor does it appear to have been excessive. On this point there exists an interesting dialogue of Ælfric, of the tenth century, written in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, which, placed in the shape of question and reply, permits the Saxon ploughman to express his own condition:—

“What sayest thou, ploughman? How dost thou work?”

“Oh, my lord, hard do I work. I go out at day-break driving the oxen to field, and I yoke them to the plough. Nor is it ever so hard winter that I dare loiter at home, for fear of my lord, but the oxen yoked and the ploughshare and coulter fastened to the plough, every day must I plough a full acre, or more.”

“Hast thou any comrade?”

“I have a boy driving the oxen with an iron goad, who also is hoarse with cold and shouting.”

“What more dost thou in the day?”

“Verily then I do more. I must fill the bin of the oxen with hay, and water them and carry out the dung.

Ha ! Ha ! hard work it is, hard work it is ! because I am not free."

The ploughman, it is seen, was not free, but his services were not particularly severe. His labour in ploughing, feeding and watering his cattle, and in cleansing their stable, was not harder, as mere work, than the duties of a Crawley carter in the twentieth century. The labour was evidently not so much the difficulty, as the want of freedom, and it is in the matter of liberty that the modern agricultural labourer enjoys the greatest advantage over his brethren of one thousand years ago.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MANOR IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

DURING the twelfth century the fount of local history is dry and yields but a few meagre drops. There are no manorial records and the Winchester chronicles are mainly concerned with political and meteorological phenomena. From them we learn that in 1089 the harvest was so bad that the corn was reaped green at the beginning of November. In 1115 the winter was exceptionally severe, "both snow and ice such as had never been seen in England before that time and lasting for nine weeks." This was surpassed by the winter of 1205 when the frost lasted twenty weeks on end. Regular taxpayers will be grieved to find in the Pipe Roll for 1167 that William Swift of Crauelai was in arrears to the extent of five marks.* This gentleman apparently held the portion of the manor, which a century before was in the possession of Hugo de Port. In the following year it is stated that "Bishop's Craueleg had paid xxs. and was quit." From the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, the records are tolerably regular and continuous, until

* The mark was $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound, 13s. 4d. The half of a mark was a "noble," or 6s. 8d. Hence the modern lawyer's peculiar charges. The pound, which only nominally existed, was a full pound of silver. Up to the end of the fourteenth century the silver penny (worth $2\frac{3}{4}d.$) was almost the only coin in existence.

the middle of the fifteenth century. For that period of 250 years no less than 178 annual rolls are still in existence.

The earliest record of the manor of Crawley is to be found in the Pipe Roll of the fourth year of the episcopate of Peter des Roches, that is to say 1208-9. Translated from the Latin, it runs as follows:—

Richard the seneschal, and Herbert and Arnold, bailiffs, paid 38s. 2d., arrears of the past year. And are quit.

The same render account of £10. 12d. as the total land gafol, save for the lands of 4 ploughmen, 1 smith, 1 swineherd, 2 shepherds, 13 labourers who are assessed in labour. By acquittance of 1 bailiff, 5s. By deficiency of rent for Strong's land, taken into the demesne, 2s. By deficiency of rent for Alebroc's land, 5s., which are now paid at Meredon.

Total of rebates and deficiencies, 12s.

Total remaining, £9. 9s.

The same render account of 32s. 5d., for pannage.* And of 3s. 8d., for herbage. And of 20s., for 4 oxen sold alive. And of 2s. 6d., by the sale of the hides of 2 oxen. And of 2d., by the sale of the skin of 2 calves, which died last year. And of 8s. 4d., for 30 old and feeble wethers, sold alive. And of 14s. 10d., by the sale of 115 pelts of dead sheep. And of 8s. 8d., for 45 lambs, sold alive. And of 8s. 10d., by the sale of 104 pelts of dead lambs. And of 9s. 10d., by lease of land for this year. And of 10d., for butter sold. And of 63s., by sale of 163 cheeses, remaining over from last year, which made 9 weys.† And

* Pannage was the privilege of turning out pigs to roam in the woods, upon the payment of a small sum, for the purpose of feeding on the beech mast and acorns. The time was called the pannage month, which generally lasted from Michaelmas until November 22nd.

† Wey = 1 cwt. 2 qrs. 14 lbs. = 6½ tods.

of 24s., by sale of 84 cheeses of this year, which made $3\frac{1}{2}$ weys. And of 100s., by the sale of 489 full fleeces, which made $3\frac{1}{4}$ weys, and of 201 lamb fleeces, which made half a wey. Total £14. 17s. 2d.

The same render account of £7. 15s. 4d., by the sale of 61 and a half quarters of wheat. And of 11s. 3d., by the sale of 5 quarters of small corn. And of 25s. 8d., by the sale of 12 and a half quarters of barley. And of 2s. 3d., by the sale of $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of pease. Total £9. 14s. 6d.

Perquisites of the Court.—The same render account of 20s., raised from the whole village for the bail of the men who were put in the stocks at Meredon for breach of the peace, last year. And of 20s., from Herbert the bailiff, for losing the key. And of 2s., from William Palmer, for contempt of court. And of 12d., from Ivo Coch, for trespass in the woods. And of 6d., from William Tole, for the like. And of 18d., from Robert Long, for the like. And of 12d., from Hugo Newnham, for sowing the Bishop's land badly. And of 12d., from Odo, for the like. And of 6d., from Sewall, for trespass in the woods. And of 6d., from Tanculf, for the like. And of 6d., from Robert of the Island, for the like. And of 12d., from Robert of the Vineyard, for the like. And of 8s., from Robert the knight, for the land he holds. Total 57s. 6d.

The same render account of £9. 18s. for tallage.

Total of the whole receipts, £46. 16s. 2d.

Delivery.—Delivered to John the dean, 100s. 3d., arrears from the sale of last year. To the same from perquisites, 20s., by 1 tally.* To the same for sale of standing corn, 40s., by 1 tally. To the same from tallage, £9. 18s., by 1 tally. To the same for the Christmas term,

* A tally was a stick on which notches were made showing the sums due. It was then split down the centre, the debtor retaining one half, the creditor the other.

45s. 1d., by 1 tally. To the same for the 3 following terms, £6. 15s., by 1 tally. To the same £9. 12d. by 1 tally.

Total of the whole delivery, £33. 12d.

Expended.—In irons for 4 ploughs, and 10 plough-horses, by the year, 14s. 2d. In the purchase of 6 pairs of wheels for the ploughs; for 4 new-made ploughs; and in the repair of ploughs, 2s. 4d. In the purchase of 1 iron-tyred waggon, 9s. 8d. In the repair of one waggon, 9d. In the purchase of one saddle and harness for waggon, 14d. In the purchase of halters, 3d. In the purchase of 6 oxen, 35s. 2d. For winter boonwork of 13 ploughs, 13d. In digging 60 perches around the sheepfold, 15s. In making a hedge about the sheepfold, 12d. In making 1 new gate before the sheepfold, 12d. In repairing gate of yard, 7d. In making walls of dairy and barn, 2s. 1d. In thatching aforesaid buildings and 1 sheepfold and 2 barns, 5s. 1d. In repairing locks, 4d. In the purchase of rope and leathern bucket for the well on account of the excessive drought, 20d. In 38 wattled hurdles for the fold, 10d. In costs of the dairy, 4s. 1d. In purchase of poultry for Pentecost, by order of the seneschal, to wit, 64 chickens, 3s. 5d. In hoeing 60 acres 12 perches of corn, 16d. In food allowance of Master Robert Basset, 9s. In allowances of Thomas de Wichton in the Autumn, for the space of 5 weeks at 2d. the day, 5s. 2d. In purchase of canvas for packing wool, 16d. In wages of 4 cowmen, by the year, 16s. In wages of 1 hayward, 3s. In wages of 1 dairymaid, 3s. In livery and maintenance of Robert of Foxcote, the seneschal, by the year, 60s. 10d. Total, £10. 4d.

Total of the whole delivery and expenditure, £44. 16d. And they owe, 54s. 10d.

Grain Account.—The same render account of 66½ quarters as the total produce of wheat. And of 26 quarters

received from Meredon. Total, $92\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. In seed for 90 acres, 26 quarters. In bread for the Autumn boon days, 5 quarters. Sold, $61\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. For the price they account above.

The same render account of 5 quarters, as the total produce of small corn. Sold, the whole. For the price they account above.

The same render account of $147\frac{1}{2}$ quarters as the total produce of barley. In seed for 173 acres, 57 quarters. Sent to Combe for seed and there delivered to Robert of Deneford, 6 quarters. Sent to Meredon, 22 quarters. In food allowances of 4 cowmen, 1 hayward, 1 dairymaid, by the year, 39 quarters. In pay and allowances of 1 harrower, from Michaelmas to Easter, 3 quarters. In feeding pigs, 8 quarters. Sold $12\frac{1}{2}$ quarters.

The same render account of 201 quarters as the total produce of oats. In seed for 286 acres, 104 quarters. Sent to Meredon, 8 quarters. Sent to Wolvesey and there delivered to John the dean, 30 quarters, by 2 tallies. Sent to Wolvesey and delivered to Peter Ace for provender for the Bishop, 18 quarters. In provender for Robert Basset, 3 quarters. In provender for 10 plough horses, by the year, 38 quarters.

The same render account of $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters as the total produce of pease. In seed for 4 acres, 1 quarter. Sold, $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. Quit.

Stock Account.—The same render account of 10 plough-horses brought forward from last year. All remain.

The same render account of 37 oxen brought forward from last year. And of 6 bought afterwards. And of 2 added from stock. Total 45. Sold alive, 4. For their price they account above. Dead, 2. Total 6. And there remain 39 oxen.

The same render account of 12 cows, 1 bull, brought forward from last year. And of 3 cows added from stock.

Total 15 cows, 1 bull. All remain and have been sent to Meredon.

The same render account of 2 young bulls, 3 heifers, brought forward from last year. Added to oxen, 2. Added to cows, 3. Nothing remains.

The same render account of 4 calves brought forward from last year. Dead, 2. There remain, 2.

The same render account of 480 ewes brought forward from last year. And of 110 added from stock. Total, 590. Died before lambing, 10; after lambing and before shearing, 8; after shearing, 8. Total, 26. And there remain 564 ewes.

The same render account of 345 wethers brought forward from last year. And of 127 added from stock. Total 472. Sold alive, 20. Died before shearing, 34. Died after shearing, 6. Total 40. And there remain 412 wethers.

The same render account of 218 hoggets, last year lambs. And of 48 received from Meredon. Total 266. Died before shearing, 49. And there remain 237; of which 110 are gimmers, added to the ewes; 127 are males, added to the wethers.

The same render account of 453 lambs born this year, and 3 born from gimmers, because 17 ewes were barren. In tithe, 45. In customary payments to 1 smith, 2 shepherds, and the keeper of the lambs, 4. Sold alive, 45. Died before shearing, 93. Died after shearing, 11. Total, 198. And there remain 258.

The same render account of 990 fleeces of curled and full grown wool. In tithe, 99. In customary payments to 2 shepherds, 1 dairymaid, 3. Sold, 888, which made 2 weys of small wool, $3\frac{1}{4}$ weys of fullgrown wool.

The same render account of 201 fleeces of lambs' wool, because 68 very young lambs were not shorn. Sold, as above, 201 which made half a wey.

The same render account of 176 cheeses which began to be made April 6th and ended September 28th, both dates being included. In tithe, 17. In customary payments of shepherd, smith, dairymaid, 3. Sent to Wolvesey, 24. In Autumn boon days, 14. Sold, as above, 84. And there remain over 34 cheeses.

The same render account of 34 swine brought forward from last year. And of 23, offspring of the same. Total, 57. In tithe, 2. In customary payment to swineherd, 1. In Winchester larder, 15. Dead, 7. Total 25. And 32 swine remain.

The same delivered to Radulf Salser at Wolvesey, 30 chickens.

The same render account of 61 Churchscot hens. And of 64 bought. Delivered to John the dean, 91. And there remain 34, besides 28 capons acquired by Richard the seneschal.

The same render account of 4 flitches of bacon received from Wolvesey. The whole used during the autumn boon-days.

*Total of the whole amount due, 54s. 10d. Discharged after audit, and quit for whole.**

The most interesting fact revealed by these figures is the extremely small yield of the various crops. Assuming, as was probably the case, that the total acreage and quantity sown were approximately the same as in the preceding year the yield per acre was, of corn six bushels, of barley and oats, slightly more.†

* A later entry in an official hand.

† From an ancient work on husbandry by Walter de Henley we learn that in the early part of the thirteenth century the return on the corn sown was not expected to exceed fivefold, instead of about fourteenfold as now. The average return per acre now exceeds thirty-five bushels.

The return on the seed sown is also extraordinarily low. Drought may account for this as well as for the numerous trespasses in the woods, but, though the summer appears to have been very dry, it was by no means a year of scarcity. For in the years 1244, 1245, 1247 and 1248, in which, the chronicler Matthew Paris informs us, the harvests were exceedingly abundant the yield per acre does not approach eight bushels. Again, while in those years the price of wheat scarcely exceeded two shillings the quarter, the price in the year under consideration amounts to about 2s. 6½d. on an average. Now this was not high, for the general price at this period appears to have been about 2s. 10½d. Another interesting feature indicated by the above figures is the comparatively small amount of wheat consumed on the manor, which seems to show that barley bread was the staple food of the peasantry. It is also curious that there was hardly any corn in hand either at the beginning or end of the year. The average price of the barley sold is 2s. 0½d. per quarter.

The manors of Crawley and Merdon were apparently worked in combination, as they are perpetually exchanging seed and stock. Thus, in this year Crawley received twenty-six quarters of wheat for seed from Merdon, and sent in return twenty-two quarters of barley and eight of oats : Merdon obtained from Crawley one bull and fifteen cows, in exchange for forty-eight hoggets. The agricultural work was performed almost entirely by the tenants by way of service and as a condition of their tenure. There was also an important obligation in connection with the

lord's fold. Their sheep were obliged to lie on the lord's land and not on theirs, so that his land and not theirs was enriched by the manure. As might be expected, money wages are not paid to any extent. Four cowmen receive four shillings a year each, while the hayward * and dairymaid get a shilling less. The bulk of the payments are made in kind. All those who receive money wages obtain also six and-a-half quarters of barley. Two shepherds and the dairymaid are the recipients of a fleece. The swineherd gets a pig, the smith and the shepherds a lamb each. One of the shepherds, the smith, and the dairymaid have cheeses. In return for their labour, four ploughmen, the smith, the swineherd, the shepherds, and thirteen others have house and land rent free. If the payments in kind are converted into money values on the basis of the price of corn, as far as the data allow, it will be found that the cowmen received 17s. 4d., the dairymaid about 16s. 10½d., and the hayward 16s. 4d. per annum. For six months work the harrower gets three quarters of barley or 6s. 1½d. In dealing with these wages it must be remembered that all, or nearly all, the earners enjoyed various benefits such as an allotment in the common fields and a share in the common pasture. It is, however, quite unsafe to draw any comparison with the wages of a modern agricultural labourer, as wages expressed in corn values are no indication of the conditions of life generally, although there is reason to suppose that the rustic

* The hayward had charge of the meadows, and was responsible for the safety of the crop and the repair of the hedges.

wage-earner of the thirteenth century was better off than his fellow of the seventeenth, or eighteenth, century.

Turning to the sheep, the first point that will be noted is the heavy mortality in the flock, which in some years amounts to thirty-four per cent. of the total.* These sheep must have been very small. As will be seen later the price at which they are commonly sold, even taking into account the general cheapness of meat, is conclusive as to their being like the Welsh or mountain sheep.† Besides, the average weight of the fleece is not more than one and one-fifth pounds; and the quality of the wool, as may be gathered from existing specimens of cloth, was coarse and the fibre was full of hairs.‡ The value of the wool sold this year is about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ the pound. The sheep were kept in the fold and were not permitted to lie out at night. This was done for several reasons, including the fear of wolves. That wolves were still in evidence in this part of Hampshire is clear from the mention, in some of the rolls, of sheep and even horses being devoured by these marauders.

The roll for the year 1208 has been quoted *in extenso* to show the general system on which these

* At present it is about five per cent.

† Mutton was about $\frac{1}{8}d.$ per lb. In dealing with animals at this period, one important fact must be taken into consideration, namely, that until several centuries later the average weight of a sheep did not exceed 28 lbs., or little more than a quarter of the weight to-day. The weight of an ox was 370 lbs. as against 1000 lbs.

‡ The fleece of a Welsh sheep rarely exceeds 2 lbs. in weight. In the case of other varieties the weight varies from 5 lbs. to over 20 lbs. The fleece of the Hampshire Down sheep weighs from 5 to 7 lbs.

records were drawn up. The few existing rolls of the thirteenth century closely resemble the specimen given. They throw little light on the life of the village, and are, in the main, merely balance sheets. It is, therefore, unnecessary to make copious extracts from them though occasionally points of interest are disclosed. For instance in 1252 there was a total failure of crops, due to continuous drought from Easter to Michaelmas. Seven years later a similar result arose from a long period of drought followed by excessive rains. The corn was green at Michaelmas and never ripened. The year 1277 was marked by terrific thunderstorms, causing wholesale destruction of stock and buildings. From the *Annales de Wintonia* we learn that a state of fearful excitement prevailed throughout the country in 1249, as the Day of Judgment was expected on the 17th of September in that year.

Appealing to other sources, we find, in the *Coram Rege Roll* for the second year of King Edward I (1274), that "on the morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Henry de Sottebrok, sheriff of the county of Southampton, was summoned before the King and his Council, to answer the Bishop of Winchester for coming with his bailiffs on Whitmonday to the Bishop's manor of Crawelle and there taking five horses, twenty oxen, six cows, seventeen young oxen, and 350 sheep, which he drove to Winchester Castle and detained there for two nights, with other enormities, etc." The sheriff urged in defence that he had seized the abovesaid and

other animals belonging to the bishop by the King's command, to levy thereon 500 marks, and had retained them two nights before the royal writ came to deliver them. The defence proving adequate, the matter was amicably adjusted.

Ten years later a long-standing quarrel came to solution. This was a dispute as to the nature of the services which the bishop was entitled to receive from the prior of St. Swithin, his monks, and men of theirs residing at Crawley and other manors. The plea was heard before the King at Conway Castle, and it was decided that, among other things, "the lord prior shall keep in his manor of Berton at his own expense all persons arrested in Twyford, Craulye . . . and all other manors of the bishop within the two hundreds of the prior, to wit, Falelye and Butlesgate." In 1309 another plea was made before the King, following on certain differences between the bishop and his tenants at Crawley and elsewhere. The points at issue, however, are of little interest.

On the death of a bishop, or on a vacancy caused by removal, the Crown claimed all corn in the granges, and all that was sown on the lands of the temporalities, together with a proportion of the value of the stock. On entering on possession of the episcopal manors in 1320 Rigaud de Asserio had to pay £1,475. 19s. 11¼d. for the stock and growing crops, sold to him by the Crown, while his successor John de Stratforde, a few years after, paid as much as £2,024. 8s. 9¼d. The live stock born during the vacancy of the see was also considered the property of the Treasury. For the

purpose of assessing the amount due, a valuation was made based on the declaration of a local jury. This was done at Crawley in 1316, and recorded in the following:—

Statement made on oath by Roger Marde, Thomas the Wilde, Robert David, Thomas the Carpenter, Nicholas of the Halle, Robert Howot, Robert Bele, John the Cooper, William Elys, Robert Bischof, and William Long; who say that there remain in that place 3 carthorses—the value of each, 10s. And there remain 6 plough-horses—the value of each, 7s. Item 3 yearlings—the value of each, 3s. Item 15 oxen—the value of each 10s. Item 4 young oxen—the value of each, 4s. Item 12 cows—the value of each, 6s. Item, there remain 6 calves—the value of each, 14d. Item 2 calves, born in the King's time, of the value of 2s. Item there remain 65 wethers; and 400 wethers were sold by the executors—the value of each 2s. Item there remain 16 rams. Item there remain 195 ewes; and 300 ewes were sold by the executors—the value of each, 16d. Item there remain 179 hoggasters. Item there remain 125 lambs of the produce.

Dilapidations—They say also that the dilapidations of the place are estimated at 100s.

Land sown—Likewise they say that there were sown in the time of the Bishop, of wheat 54 acres, valued at 4s. the acre. Item of barley 57½ acres, in the time of the King—value 3s. the acre. Item of oats, in the time of the King 81 acres—value 2s. the acre. Of pease, in the time of the King, 13 acres—value 2s. the acre. Of vetches, in the King's time, 12 acres— . . . the acre.

They say also that there are in the barn 40 quarters of wheat, valued at 4s. the quarter. Item 24 quarters, by estimation, of barley—valued at 4s. the quarter.

To each bishop, on the confirmation of his election to the see, the tenants of the manor had to pay recognition money. Thus in 1316 the tenants of Crawley paid to John de Sandale the sum of fifty shillings. For the first year of this bishop's consecration, that is from Michaelmas 1316 to the same period in 1317, the total expenditure, receipts, and payments of the manor were as follows:—Total receipts £151. 11s. 5¼*d.*, various outgoings £30. 6s. 0¾*d.*, balance £121. 5s. 4½*d.*, made up of £81. 18s. 2¼*d.* paid to the treasurer of Wolvesey, and £39. 7s. 2¼*d.* received from Bernard de Pulchere, of London, merchant, as the price of nine weys, twenty-one cloves of wool. This works out at somewhat more than 5¼*d.* the pound or more than double the price of 1208. As far as can be ascertained, the price of cattle and sheep had not increased proportionately, but the value of the grain is nearly twice as great as it was a century earlier. There is, however, no safe standard to go upon, owing to the rapid fluctuation of values, which may be illustrated by a statement made three years later, on Rigaud's election.

Craulee, July 12th, 1320. Memorandum that Thomas de Saunforde delivered to John of Kyrkeby, bailiff of the aforesaid manor, on the Sabbath day abovementioned, in the sight of Walter Wodeloc, bailiff,—6 plough-horses, each is valued on the oath of 12 sworn men at 8s.; 16 oxen, of which 4 are cubbes,* and each cubbe is valued at 9s., and each other at 10s.; 65 wethers, of which 2 are cubbes, and each cubbe is valued at 11*d.*, and the others at 16*d.*;

* The word seems to have been employed universally to describe the young of all animals, and was not confined as now to certain species.

16 rams, of which 6 are cubbes, and each cubbe is valued at 12*d.*, and each other at 16*d.*; 195 ewes, of which 3 are cubbes, and each cubbe is valued at 10*d.*, and the others at 12*d.*; 279 hoggasters, of which 137 are male—each valued at 10*d.*, and 142 female—valued at 8*d.* each. In witness of which fact the other part of this present indenture is delivered to the aforesaid bailiff.

In considering the foregoing figures it should be remembered that the preceding years had been years of fearful famine, and prices had risen to an unprecedented height.

At Woodstock, May 4, 1330, King Edward III made “a grant, for life, to John Mautravers, Steward of the Household—in consideration of his agreement to stay always with the King—of the manor of Asshelegh and a rent in Netherdene, Craule, and Upsumburn, which formerly belonged to Hugh Le Despenser, the elder, and escheated through his forfeiture.” This land must have been a portion of the present Rookley estate. Despenser was the notorious foreign favourite of Edward II, by whom he was created Earl of Winchester. On the downfall of that monarch he was put to death, his head being sent to Winchester and set upon a gate of that city.

The great feature of the fourteenth century is the Black Death, which has been treated separately elsewhere. Some idea of the state of the manor at this fatal epoch may be gathered from the ensuing extracts from the rent roll of Sir William de Edyndone, bishop. John atte Halle, the reeve acknowledges the receipt of :

One pound of cummin for land called the Hoo (near Lainston) 22*d.*, from the pannage of pigs at Martinmas;

and 17*d.* from the pannage of 17 calves; and 24*s.* 10*d.* from 42 cows and 23 young oxen to Hockday at 6*d.* and 2*d.* each respectively.

5*s.* 6*d.* for 22 geese sold at 3*d.* each; 4*s.* for 24 capons at 2*d.*; 11*s.* 7½*d.* for 93 cocks and hens of the churchshot sold at 1½*d.* each; 8*d.* for 200 eggs; 22*s.* for the lactage (milking) of ewe sheep.

The amount of corn grown is the same as in the preceding century. The bishop was charged four shillings a quarter for wheat, and one shilling for oats, the prices for others being five to six shillings for wheat, and 20*d.* for oats. Barley was sold at three shillings per quarter. The receipts for stock disposed of were as under:—

34*s.* 3*d.* for 12 plough-horses sold, one at 2*s.* 3*d.*, 10 at 2*s.* 6*d.* apiece, and one at 7*s.* 18*s.* 9*d.* for 7½ cows (!) at 2*s.* 6*d.* ahead; 3*s.* 4*d.* for 2½ young oxen (!) at 16*d.* apiece. 49*s.* 9*d.* for 91 wethers sold after shearing, to wit, 51 at 7*d.* apiece and 40 at 6*d.* apiece; 58*s.* 7*d.* for 109 ewes sold after shearing, to wit, 60 at 6*d.*, and 49 at 7*d.*; 12*s.* for 60 lambs sold after shearing, price 2½*d.* each less 6*d.* on the lot.

Under the heading of *Fines and Marriages* occur the following:—

13*s.* 4*d.* of the tithing penny of St. Martin and Hockday.

5*s.* 6*d.* from William Rankyn for one messuage and half a virgate of bondland, which belonged to Robert, his father.

2*s.* from John, son of John Trigge, for having a cottage and three acres of bondland, which belonged to his father.

15*s.* from Robert Bele, for a messuage and a virgate

of bondland, which belonged to Robert, the carpenter, his uncle.

6s. 8d. from John Snowe, for having a messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of bondland, which were his father's.

21s. 8d. from John the Baker, for having a messuage and a virgate of bondland, in which Gilbert Snowe, cousin and next of kin of John Gode, who last held that tenement, had remitted to him his right.

6s. from Henry Martyn, for one messuage and one ferling of bondland, which belonged to Adam Martyn and came into the lord's hands as his escheat for want of heir.

10s. from William, son of Joan Muriweder (? Merryweather), for one messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of bondland, which were his mother's.

8s. from John Gibbe, for having Maude, daughter of Roger Blakewyne, and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of bondland, which belonged to the said Roger, father of the said Maude.

8s. 4d. from Gilbert Sely, for having Albreda, daughter of Robert Davy, and one messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of bondland, which belonged to the said Robert.

3s. 6d. from John Gode, for a cottage and 3 acres, which belonged to Juliana Gode, his kinswoman.

5s. from William, son of William Martyn, for a cottage and 10 acres of bondland, which were his father's.

8s. from John, son of William Lange, for a messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate.

3s. 4d. from Adam Pors for 11 acres of land, which were John Seleby's.

20s. from John Hodeman, for having Alice atte Putte with her land, to wit, one messuage and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of bondland.

8s. from William Coleman, for a messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, formerly John Light's.

6s. from Gilbert, son of Robert Bele, for his father's messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate.

6s. 8d. from John Sely, for having Joan Palmere with her land, namely one cottage and one ferling of bondland.

12d. from the same John Sely, for Albreda, his daughter, on her marriage.

6s. 8d. from Henry Martyn, for a messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, by surrender of John Mardy.

6s. 8d. from John the Baker, for having Alice Snowe with her land,—one messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of bondland.

10s. from Nicholas Wylde, for a messuage and virgate by surrender of Thomas the Wylde, his father.

40s. from Richard, son of Nicholas Kirkeby, for one messuage and a virgate of bondland, 27 acres of pourprest land next the lord's wood on the east, 14 acres of pourprest land next the "hamme," and two pieces next "la mere," which belonged to John Kirkeby, his grandfather.

13s. 4d. from Robert Hewet, for a messuage and a virgate of bondland, which came into the lord's hand as an escheat for want of kin of Nicholas le Bonde.

Truly it was a period of small holdings, of "three acres and a cow." Expenditure is recorded in detail under several heads:—

Ploughing.—In 3 cwt. of iron, bought for the ironwork of three ploughs, 11s.; 3 pairs of wheels for the ploughs, 12d.; 2 new ploughshares, 2s. 6d.; shoeing 18 oxen with iron, 3s.; shoeing 6 plough-horses, by the year, 3s.; in wages of two drivers, 8s.

Carting.—In one set of waggon wheels, with iron bands and all the gear, 12s. 9d.; in tyres, 6d.; in grease, 3d.; in white leather, 3d.; in shoeing 3 horses through the year, 5s.; in wages of one carter, by the year, 4s.

Sheepfold.—In linen and woollen cloth, 6*d.*; in one brass dish, 2*s.* 2*d.*; one earthenware jar and dish, 3*d.*; 3 bushels of salt, 18*d.*; wages of one dairymaid, 2*s.*; wages of one shepherd of wethers, for 20 weeks, 18*d.*; in hay bought for keeping the sheep in winter, 45*s.*

In the absence of artificial grasses and winter roots, it was difficult to maintain the flocks in winter, and consequently natural meadow was exceedingly valuable. To supplement the hay, the corn was cut high on the stalk and the stubble mown after the crop was gathered. At Martinmas (November 11) the bailiff, calculating his resources of hay, killed down for salting as many animals as exceeded his means of sustenance.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century sheep were for the first time affected by a new disease, which has been handed down to our own times, under the name of the scab. The specific for this complaint was in the first place verdigris, copperas, and quicksilver, but in the fourteenth century tar-dressing was adopted and has been uninterruptedly employed from that to the present time. Hence such entries as:—

One barrell of tarr, bought for rubbing on the lord's sheep, 5*s.*; 18 gallons of white fat for the same, 12*s.* 6*d.*, to wit 8 gallons at 10*d.* and 10 at 7*d.*; in 8 gallons of capon's grease for the like, 4*s.* 8*d.*

Two oxen were bought for 16*s.*, and one working plough-horse for 9*s.* From the reeve of Merdon were purchased 185 lambs for 45*s.*, that is at 3*d.* each, less 15*d.* on the lot.

Houses.—In wages of one roofer, covering and mending defects of the grange, 12*d.*; wages of one carpenter

in new-making the ox-stalls, by the job, 3s. 4d.; to the same, in the same matter, 18d., instead of 4 bushels of barley, by agreement.

Autumn Customs.--In bread bought in the autumn for 180 customers for one day, with the seneschal of the court, who reaped all the corn, 7s. 6d., to each of them $\frac{1}{2}$ d. worth of bread; cheese bought for them, 3s. 9d., to wit, $\frac{1}{4}$ d. worth of cheese to each of them; ale for them, 2s. In wages of one hayward, 6s. 8d.

This note affords some conception of the population of the village at the time. For, despite a pestilence, 180 persons could turn out in the fields on a given day in accordance with the obligations of their tenure. Assuming that women and children are included in this total, and allowing for the aged and very young and for the ravages of the plague which had swept off half of the people, we may safely estimate the population of the village in the first half of the fourteenth century at not less than 500. Such a total was never reached again until the eighteenth century.

In 1353 there was a great drought followed by a fearful scarcity. In 1361 there was another great pestilence, accompanied by unpleasant prodigies. "The Feonde * was seen in mannes lykenesse and spake unto men as they travayled by the way."

Another recrudescence of the plague occurred eight years later and again in 1376. In consequence at this time Winchester was so impoverished and dilapidated that it was unable to pay the King's taxes. The roll for 1399 contains among the receipts an item of "18d.

* Fiend.

from the goods of William Randolf, a felon hanged.” Among the expenses of the year are:—

The wages of one carpenter for new raising the hall on the East side, 13s. ; in wattling the said part of the hall, 6d. ; in wages of a roofer for the said hall, 18d. ; in new-plastering the walls of the said hall, 8d. ; 150 nails for new-making the doors and windows of the said hall, 8d. ; one lock bought for the door of the steward’s room, 4½d. ; wages of one thatcher for thatching the grange for corn, and the grange for pease and oats, 6 days at 3d. a day, 18d. ; in help allowed him for the same time, 12d.

The Hall was apparently the same in character, at the end of the fourteenth century, as it had been in the tenth, that is to say a structure framed in wood, having wattled walls daubed with clay. Nor is this wholly surprising, for stone was not easily accessible, and brick-making was a lost art until the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER V.

MEDIAEVAL VILLAGE LIFE.

THE general plan of Crawley village in the middle ages must have been very like that of to-day, an irregular succession of houses straggling up a sloping street. Undoubtedly the church occupied the same site and was built mainly of wood and rubble as now. It formed the common hall of the parish and was as much needed for secular, as for sacred, purposes, often being used for storing wheat or wool. Hard by the church stood the manor house, built of the coarsest materials, with walls of wattles daubed with mud or clay. Apart from size, its sole claim to dignity was probably the possession of a stone chimney. It would consist of the usual three principal rooms, the hall which was the chamber of state and business, the dormitory, and the parlour, or solar, so called because it was built towards the south. As might be expected, the furniture was scanty. A table put on tressels and laid aside when out of use, a few forms and stools, or a long bench with a cushion stuffed with straw or wool, one or two wooden chairs, and a chest or two for linen, would compose the furniture of the hall. The walls were garnished with mattocks, scythes, reaping hooks, corn measures, and empty sacks. The dormitory contained one or more rude beds without sheets, for

the gown of the day was generally the coverlet at night, while the servants slept in the straw on the floor of the hall round the fire, the smoke of which, perhaps, found its way out through a lantern in the roof. Here lived the lord bishop's steward, or seneschal, Robert of Chertsey, Roger de Haywode, or William Ringebourne, and here was held the manorial court.

The hovels of the cottagers were of the meanest description—mere huts, whose only opening was the door, which not only served for ingress and egress, but to admit light and air. The floor was the bare earth, sometimes pitched with flints. A few rough chests were ranged along the walls, and a bacon rack was fastened overhead. The wood fire was on a hob of clay. Chimneys were unknown, and the smoke escaped by the door or any other aperture. A brass pot or two for boiling and two or three brass dishes, a few wooden platters or trenchers, an iron candlestick, a knife or two, a box for salt, with a pail and bowl, formed the ordinary movables of the house. The clothes of the peasant were simple and ill-made, composed chiefly of leather and coarse woollen garments. These were mainly home-made, for weaving was carried on in all villages. Linen shirts were such valuable articles that they were often the subjects of charitable and ostentatious doles, and were for centuries devised by will. The yeomen and labourers undoubtedly fashioned their own tools in the winter and did most of the rough carpentry required. The smith was the most important, if not the only, skilled workman.

The course of social life must have been very uniform and monotonous. The only break in the uneventful year was formed by a church festival, or the periodical audit of the lord, or his representative, who visited the manor rarely. Except the parish priest, the peasants and farmers were brought in contact with no one of rank superior to themselves. We can hardly to-day realise "the privations of a mediæval winter, the joy of a mediæval spring, and the glad thankfulness of an abundant harvest." Nor can we easily comprehend a state of things, in which the purchase of a pound of candles would have absorbed a labourer's daily earnings. Few persons could have afforded to break the Curfew * even had they desired. As has been well said, "the offering of a candle at the shrine of a saint was a natural tribute, because it was a choice personal enjoyment." The lights of a mediæval church, the warmth and incense, must have been a welcome contrast to those who lived in chilly dark huts, where glass was unknown and cleanliness all but impossible. Disease was widespread and universal. Scurvy in its most virulent forms, and leprosy were common disorders, as the people lived on salt meat half the year, and not only were they without potatoes, but they had no other roots, while onions and cabbages appear to have been the only vegetables, if we except nettles, which are often mentioned. Wheaten bread was the customary food of

* Curfew, from the French "*couvre feu*," was the name given to the evening bell, which was the signal for the extinction of lights and fires. It had the political object of checking nocturnal meetings for the purpose of conspiracy. The peasant probably retired to rest at sundown and had neither need nor temptation to burn light late at night.

the people from the earliest times. This and meat were usually cheap and abundant.

As regards the vast majority, even the most primary form of education was unknown. To a favoured few the priest imparted his slender stock of knowledge and a smattering of Latin. Most of these found their way into the Church, or some religious order. Thus in 1294 there was a Robert of Crauly at Mottisfont. On May 24th, 1309, in the Holy Ghost Chapel at Basingstoke, Walter of Crawele was ordained priest by David Martin, Bishop of St. David's. In 1321, Rigaud de Asserio, Bishop of Winchester, admitted Richard of Craule to the first tonsure; and a John of Craule is mentioned at Over Wallop in 1342. Such men might find access to the scanty libraries of the day, but even this possibility was denied to the masses owing to their inability to read. Their sole mental nourishment consisted in current gossip. Still the Crawley villager was more fortunate than many of his compeers by reason of his proximity to Winchester, which brought him in contact with the stream of the national life. There was held the great fair, second only to that of Stourbridge in importance, at which he might see the men and goods and hear the tongues of strange nations. For to this great market went the woolpacks, which then formed the riches of England and were the envy of other nations, attracting merchants from all parts of Europe.* Thither came the Venetian and Genoese

* There is an account preserved in the Exchequer of the exports and imports in 1354. The total value of the exports was £212,338, the chief item being 31,651 sacks of wool at £6 a sack. It may be added that one third of this price represented an export duty.

with his Eastern and Southern produce, his silks and glass. The Flemish weaver was present with the linen of Ghent and Bruges, as were also the Spaniard with his iron, the Norwegian with his tar and pitch, the agents of the Hanse towns with their furs and cloth. There, perhaps, the tenant of "the Hoo" bought his pound of cummin, and many another learned of peoples other than his own.

Though the general condition of the mediæval peasant was in many respects wretched, yet in various points it compares favourably with that of his descendants in later ages. In the first place the gulf between his own poverty and the luxury of the rich was not so wide. Again he was usually a free tenant, and by the terms of his tenure independent and safe. He owed it is true suit and service; he paid a large quit rent; he could not enter religion, or become a secular priest without the licence of his lord; he was disabled from marrying his daughter without licence or fine. Yet he was, in fact, secure of recovering all outlay which he might make on the soil, and of all additions which his labour might annex to its capital value. He was called on to serve in the various offices of the manor, as juryman and ale-taster. Apart from any question of ambition, he had a direct interest in the efficient discharge of these offices, for the juryman presented petty offences to the steward, and the ale-taster was the guarantee that the beer was sound. As a citizen he was also constable. For by the statute of Winchester of 1285, the people of each hundred were obliged to make "hue and cry" after felons, and

if any person, seeing a felon, did not raise "hue and cry," and if others did not join in it, they were liable to amercement or fine. The hue and cry had to be raised and chase made and continued from hundred to hundred * until the culprit was caught. This ancient institution subsisted down to the creation of the police force in the nineteenth century. Stocks were established in the village in 1376.

The farmer at this period was chiefly engaged in the growth of corn, and the raising of sheep. It was absolutely necessary to grow corn, as the people derived little or no supplies from abroad; while wool, of which the country for certain reasons possessed a practical monopoly † fetched very high prices. Pigs furnished the most important kind of animal food, since no meat takes salt more readily. Poultry, too, must have been very common, so that the patriotic wish of Henry IV of France, that "every peasant might have a fowl in his pot," was probably verified in Crawley at this epoch. For between 1200 and 1450 the price of a fowl never exceeded twopence, and capon's grease was used for sheep-dressing and cart wheels. During the same period the average price of wheat was 5s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. the quarter, of lambs 8d., and of sheep 1s. 5d. each. Pigs reached the comparatively high figure of 2s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., while oxen and cart-horses did not exceed thirteen and nineteen shillings

* The smallest administrative division of the county, dating from Saxon times. The origin of the term is a subject of fierce debate among historians.

† "The ribs of the people throughout the world," proudly wrote the chronicler Matthew Paris, "are kept warm by the fleeces of English wool."

each respectively. Taking corn allowances and harvest work into consideration, and assuming that his wife and a boy contributed to the earnings, the money value of a labourer's income before the Plague was about forty-seven shillings per annum. After that momentous event it rose to about £3. 15s., if we leave his corn allowance and extra advantages of the harvest month unchanged. The "good old days" were no Golden Age such as some have divined, nor yet the epoch of misery and oppression that others equally fanciful have suggested. The working classes of the day had little which is denied to their descendants, while the latter have innumerable benefits and comforts of which their predecessors could not dream.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BLACK DEATH.

THE great pestilence of 1348 was a turning point in the national life, marking the real close of the mediæval period and the beginning of our modern era. Like most plagues it originated in the East, whence it swept across Europe, committing terrible ravages on the way. It found England in a moment of national exultation and prosperity, for harvests had been abundant, and a long succession of victories over the French had crowned our arms. "A new sun," says the chronicler Walsingham, "seemed to have arisen over the people in the perfect peace, in the plenty of all things, and in the glory of such victories. There was hardly a woman of any name who did not possess spoils of Caen, Calais, and other French towns across the sea." This being so, we may well believe that in 1347 the villagers streamed into Winchester to see the triumphal procession of Edward III on his return from Cressy, just as many in the preceding year had visited the array of the northern barons, encamped on Worthy Down, prior to their departure for the seat of war.

But the following year there was no occasion for rejoicing. For "in the year of our Lord, 1348, about the feast of the translation of St. Thomas (July 7th), the

cruel pestilence, terrible to all future ages, came from parts over the sea into a port called Melcombe (Weymouth), in Dorsetshire," whence it spread throughout the country. Anticipating its coming, Bishop Edyn-done in October issued a mandate to the Archdeaconry of Winchester, addressed to all rectors of parishes and parochial chaplains. He charged them to see that all were exhorted to frequent the sacrament of penance, and on all Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays to join in the saying of the seven penitential, and the fifteen gradual, psalms devoutly, and also to take part barefoot in procession, reciting the greater litany, in the village churchyards.

The sickness began in this district before Christmas. In character it was bubonic, and no doubt its ravages were intensified by the prevailing uncleanness of the people and the wretched hovels in which they dwelt, generally with a manure heap before the door. Even long years after the Spanish envoy of Philip II, in passing through Hampshire, commented at once on the abundance of food which our forefathers enjoyed, and the dirty habits of their daily life. "These peasants," he said, "live like hogs but fare like kings." It is, therefore, less surprising to learn that half of the people perished, and that the population remained stationary until the time of the Tudors. Eloquent, even if indirect, testimony of the depredations of the plague in Crawley is presented in the manorial court-rolls of the year 1349. Thus, under the heading "Annual Recognizances," we find this entry :—

Of the annual recognisances of Robert Crop, which he used to pay to the lord yearly, nothing, because he is dead; the like with the recognisances of Robert Davy, John atte Putte, Robert Wodecote, Gilbert the Cowherd, and Robert the Gode.

Under "Issues of the Manor" we read:—

5s. 3d. for cattle agisted in the wood this year in the summer, and *not more for defect of buyers*; for the pasture of sheep in the wood, *nothing this year*; and 5s. from the pasture of Drakenorthe, which is customary land, sold this year: of the pasture of Trindle and Holydene, *nothing this year*; of the pasture of Combe furlong, *nothing*; 2s. from the pasture of Bassamleye, sold this year; nothing for the pasture of the ditch round the court, nor of Lokfurlong, *for default of buyers*; 2s. 4d. from the pasture of Sherte; from the pasture of Puthulle nothing.

"Autumn Customs" also reveal the ravages of the fell disease, for here again we come across such entries as these:—

In reaping and binding 36 acres of barley, 33 acres of oats, and 29 acres of pease and vetches, *by the job, for default of dead customers*,* 77s. 7d., namely 9½d. per acre; besides, *the few customers who remained* reaped and bound, by works, 14½ acres of barley, 41 acres of oats and 6 acres of pease and vetches this year; in hoeing the lord's corn, *nothing, by reason of the want of people*.

In the above extract is shown an immediate effect of the plague in the field of economics. The pestilence, by producing a dearth of labourers, doubled wages. In this year 9½d. per acre is paid for reaping, whereas the usual rate just before the coming of the Black Death was only 4½d. per acre. A similar result is

* By "customers" are meant copyholders, who had to pay the customary services to the lord of the manor.

found in other branches of labour, and is illustrated by the following figures :—

	<i>Before Plague.</i>	<i>After.</i>
Threshing	$2\frac{1}{2}d.$ — $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ per diem.	$4d.$ — $6d.$ per diem.
Mowing	$4\frac{1}{2}d.$ — $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per acre.	$9d.$ — $11d.$ per acre.
Carpenter	$2\frac{1}{2}d.$ — $4d.$ per diem.	$4d.$ — $6d.$ per diem.
Mason	$2\frac{1}{2}d.$ — $5d.$ „	$6d.$ — $8d.$ „

All contemporary writers emphasise this feature, and the serious loss to the landowners which it entailed. To meet the scarcity of labour and check the excessive enhancement of wages the King issued a proclamation, directed to the Sheriffs of the several counties, which forbade the payment of higher than the customary wages, under penalties of amercement. But the King's mandate was everywhere disobeyed, and farmers and landowners were compelled either to see their crops ungathered, or to comply with these, in their eyes, exorbitant demands. A similar fate awaited Parliamentary efforts to fight against economic laws, and the "Statute of Labourers" was, in the main, inoperative. As a result of this, very speedily after the plague, the system of farming by bailiff was discontinued, and that of farming on lease adopted. These leases, however, were very short, probably not in the hope of raising the rent, but for the purpose of insuring verification. Consequent on the new condition of things, the open-field system was abandoned and the country was divided up by the plantation of hedges, which now form so distinguishing a mark of the English landscape.

The manorial returns made in 1350 show the fall in prices of lands and produce after the mortality.

Arable land, which in normal times was let for two marks, produced only 13s. 4d., or just one half, being at the rate of a penny the acre, instead of twopence. The same fall is to be seen in the rent of pasture which let now at 6d., instead of a shilling, and in the value of woods, twenty acres fetching only 20d., in place of double that sum. That such a result was only to be expected will be apparent if we turn once more to the court-rolls of the manor in the plague year. Unfortunately, these are decayed and defective, but they give a vivid idea of the extent of the mortality. Towards the end of the record is written :—

Heriots * were received on account of the deaths of Robert Rankyn, ..., John Snow, John Goude, Roger Blakewyn, William Martyn, William le Longe, ..., John Kirkeby, Nicholas Kirkeby, John atte Nieweweye, John the Coppere, John Hodemon, John Gille, Robert D, Nicholas Bonde, ..., John Light, William Sawe, Nicholas le Palmere, ..., John Veyne, Thomas Simound, William Elys, Robert Bele, ...

Now these are the names of the copyholders, or customary tenants, who apparently did not exceed seventy in number, and from the above list it is clear that not less than twenty-five of them died. To these must be added many labourers, servants, women, and children. Among these last the mortality was doubtless appalling. If then we multiply the above total by five, or even six, we shall probably err on the side of moderation, and find reason to believe that here, as elsewhere, at least half of the population perished. For this list does not complete the death roll, which extended into the following year, when the steward

* Goods due to the landlord on the death of a tenant.

records, under the heading of "Defaults by the Pestilence," the deaths of Thomas Couche, John Simond, Maude Rayson, Joan Moraunt, Roger the Pigherd, and Richard the Cowherd. At the same time he notes that "*there are no tenants to take their lands.*" Customary works are released to :—

Adam Purse, on the lands of Robert le Bonde; Roger Crop, on the land of Richard Aleyn; John Wodecote, on the land of Walter Sawe; John atte Halle, on the land of Nicholas Pope; John the Carter, on the land of Stephen the Carter; Gilbert Sely, on the land of Walter Coleman; John Trigge, on the land of his father Robert Trigge; Robert Wodecote, on the land of Henry Martyn; William Hodeman, on the land of John Vyne; Robert Gibbes, on the land of Edith Gibbes; Gilbert Valk (?), on the land of William Elys; William Bathurst, on the land of John atte Newey.

Moreover, payments of hens are remitted to Roger Gibbes and John Trigge, the elder, "because they are widowers." Bald as these details are in themselves, they are painful by implication. They suggest to the imagination a terrible picture of desolated homes and untilled fields, and the darkness of the scene is intensified when it is remembered that such devastation was universal, not only in England, but throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAST PIPE ROLL.*

FROM the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century the manorial records form a practically unbroken chain. But with the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses this continuity suddenly ceases, and thence onward the accounts, such as they are, are extremely meagre and ill-kept. This phenomenon is common throughout England, nor can it be wholly explained by the troublous period which succeeded. For the fact is that the civil war was mainly a feudal struggle arising out of family hatreds and rivalries. It did not greatly affect the mass of the nation, although the supporters of each side, like all partisans, thought that their cause must be the cause of the people and that the passions which fired them must necessarily inflame everybody else. But it was not so, especially in the South of England. The true explanation, doubtless, is that the War of the Roses accelerated an economic movement that was already in progress. It tended to produce a more rapid disintegration of the large estates, the substitu-

* The term "Pipe Roll" means "Account Roll." It originated in the office of the Exchequer, where the rotular records suggested pipes, through which the revenue flowed. The name first occurs in the case of the Great Roll of the Pipe, in the reign of Henry II.

tion of an extensive system of leases for the old solidarity of manorial management. Whatever may have been the result to the nation, it was unfortunate for the historian. For the numerous occupiers had not the same continuity of interest in their holdings, and were debarred, by an entire absence of education, from keeping the careful and regular accounts, which had marked the lord's administration. They were content to proceed by rule of thumb and rude averages, and this, doubtless, was one of the causes contributing to the rapid extinction of the yeoman class in later times.*

The last complete roll for the manor of Crawley synchronises with the first blows in the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster. The subsequent records are few in number, hard to decipher, and mainly simple memoranda of leases. This being so, no apology need be offered for presenting it to the reader in its entirety. The details as to the services due from the tenants, by their singular fulness and intrinsic interest, alone merit careful attention. In estimating the values given in modern equivalents, a fairly safe rule is to call the pence shillings, in other words to multiply throughout by twelve. The results obtained are only rough and approximate, but they are near enough to afford an adequate basis for general conclusions. The date of the roll is 1455, and it runs as follows :—

* Similar changes have taken place at various epochs and in many lands, and been marked by the same phenomena, the inability of small owners to systematically and successfully cultivate the soil having soon resulted in the re-agglomeration of large estates.

Craule.—Account of William Sely, farmer there, and Thomas Davy, collector of rents there, in the ninth year of the consecration of Bishop William (of Waynflete).

Arrears of last account, 40s. 9d.

Rents of Assize.—74s. 6d., of all the rents of assize there at Christmas; 67s. 10d., at Easter; 64s. 6d., at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; 104s. 1d., at Michaelmas; 20d. from William Sely, the elder, being increase of rent for four acres of the lord's demesne land in the East field next the Puttehillles,* yearly. Total, 15l. 2s. 7d.

Acquittances of Rent.—In acquittance of rent of one reeve, 5s.; of one smith, and three ploughmen, each at 2s. 8d., 10s. 8d.; of one shepherd of wethers, one shepherd of ewes, and one keeper of hoggasters, at 2s. 8d. each, 8s.; of one hayward, by agreement made, for supervision, 6s. 8d., which he was wont to receive in corn, namely, 5 qrs. 1 bus. 2 pks. of barley and 4 bus. of oats. Total, 30s. 4d.

Defaults of Rent.—Of the land of William le Straunge, treated as demesne, 2s.; of William de Court, 2s. 8d.; of William de Alebroke, 5s.; of Robert de Crouche, 2s. 8d.; of Robert Coye, 2s. 8d.; of the Pigherd, 2s. 8d.; of Richard the Cowherd, 2s. 8d.; of two ferlings of land called Morauntes and Sewales, in the lord's hand, 2s. 8d. each, 5s. 4d. Total, 25s. 8d.

Defaults of rents by pestilence.—Of one virgate of bondland and 22 acres of pourprestred land, which were Robert Wodecote's, now remaining in the lord's hand, 2s.; of one piece of land, late Robert Lyght's, afterwards Ralph Lange's, 12d., because it is allowed to John Lange at only 12d. a year. Total, 22s. Total of acquittances and defaults, 78s. Net total of rents: 11l. 4s. 7d.

* Now known as the Pightles.

Chiragium. *—8*d.* from John Cuppere, the lord's bondman, for being allowed to live outside the lord's lordship, so long as it shall please the lord, coming to the Hockday tourn every year and to the manor court of the lord at Craule as before : and 8*d.* from John, son of Henry Davy, for dwelling outside the liberty of the lord, to wit at Caneford, during the lord's pleasure, coming, etc., as above,—pledges, John Davy, the elder and younger : and 8*d.* from Roger, son of Robert, Wodecote (as the last), pledge, Thomas Wayte ; 8*d.* from John, son of Stephen Couche, the lord's bondsman, as an annual payment for licence to exercise the trade of a smith with John Starlynge, and for living in the lord's lordship of Craule with the same John Starlynge as an apprentice from Michaelmas, 27 Henry VI, for ten years, pledge—the aforesaid John Starlynge this 7th year ; and 8*d.* from Robert Davy, the lord's bondman, for living outside the lordship at Spersholt, with conditions as above, pledge—John Starlynge, smyth ; and 8*d.* from John Carpenter, for licence to live outside the lordship with above conditions, pledges, John Gybbes *alias* Roger and Thomas Gybbes. Total, 4*s.*

Cummin.—11*b.* of cummin, the rent of Michael Skyllyng for a croft called the " Howe," late John Esteney's ; delivered to the Treasurer of Wolvesey upon the exchequer.

Issues of Lands and Tenements, being in the lord's hands : 22*s.*, of the issues of one virgate of bond land and 22 acres of pourprest land, which belonged to Robert Wodecote, demised to Michael Skyllynge by fine yearly ; and 6*s.* and 8*d.* from 2 ferlings of land called Morauntes and Sewales leased this year. Total, 28*s.* 8*d.*

Sale of Works.—4*s.* from Richard Chidden for the works of one ferling of bond land, late Henry Wodecote's, released to him during the lord's pleasure ; 4*s.* from Roger

* Fines paid in acknowledgment of dependence on the lord of the manor.

Couche for the works of one ferling of bond land, late belonging to John Sely, the younger, formerly to Adam Purs, released as above; 4s. from Richard Sely, the lord's bondman, for the works on 1 ferling of bond land, late Robert Sely's, called Bodyeslonde, released as above; 4s. from John Gybbes, *alias* Rogers, the lord's bondman, for the like, late belonging to John Sely the elder, and called Vayne's; 4s. from John Whetelond for the like on land, lately John Lange's; 4s. from William Couche for the works on 1 ferling of land, late belonging to Richard Palmere, previously to William Sewale, and formerly to John Belle; 4s. from John Sely, son of William Sely, the lord's bondman, for the like on land late belonging to Thomas Corbet, and formerly to John Belle, called Symonds; 4s. from Robert Wayte, the lord's bondman, for the works on land, late belonging to Thomas Aleyne, formerly to William Hodeman; 4s. from Thomas Davy, for the release of works on 1 ferling of bondland, late Roger Lyght's; 10s. from the same for the like on 3 ferlings of bondland of William Hodeman, Roger Gybbes, and William Furnehull, released to them on account of their poverty, for each of them 3s. 4d. Total, 46s.

Issues of the Manor.—3s. 5d. of the pannage of customary pigs and calves at Martinmas; nothing from pigs agisted in the Northwode, because there was no mast there this year; 16s. of the pannage of cows and young oxen at Hockday, so demised this year; 28s. 9d. from 5 acres and 3 virgates of underwood, sold in Northwode this year, at 5s. per acre; from the pasture in Drakenorth nothing this year, because it belongs to the farmer; from the pasture in Trendele and Holyngdane, nothing, for the same reason; from pigs agisted in the lord's stubble, nothing; as also with the pasture of the ditch round the court, and for the lord's wethers in Eastacre, and the

pasture in Lokfurlange and Makfurlange, and Bashamle; 3s. 4d. from the pasture in Sherte, sold to the homage this year; nothing from the pasture called Rewes, about the bartons of the sheepfold, because it was used for the lord's sheep; from pasture in Putteshill, nothing, being altogether used for the lord's sheep; 6d. from sheep kept in the customary fold, exceeding the certain number of 25 this year; nothing for geese or capons this year, because they belong to the farmer; 12s. 10d. for 77 customary cocks and hens of the customary "churchshot" sold in the market, at 2d. each; 10d. for 200 hens' eggs, nothing here, because they belonged to the farmer; of leather, nothing, for the like reason; 8s. 0½d. for the fleecy pelts of 23 wethers, 19 ewes, and 86 hoggasters, dying of the murrain before shearing, sold respectively at 1½d., 1d., and ½d.; 6½d. for the bare pelts of 6 wethers and 7 ewes, dead as above after shearing, at ½d. apiece; 6d. for the pelts of 36 lambs, dead of the murrain before shearing, at 2d. per dozen; and 1d. for 7 skins of those that died after shearing, sold in a lot; and 2s. 1d. for 2½ cloves of broken wool, collected by the shepherd at the shearing, and sold at 10d. the clove; and 3s. for 5 cloves 1lb. of lamb's wool sold at 7d. the clove; nothing for the lactage of all the ewes, because they were not milked this year; and 3s. 4d. from the farm of the warrens in Northwode for the year; and 6l. 13s. 4d. for the farm of the manor, and all the demesne lands, meadows and pastures belonging to husbandry, demised to William Sely for 8 years, this being the 7th. Total, 10l. 15s. 9d.

Sale of Stock.—7s. for one horse, the heriot of John Roger, *alias* Gybbes, the lord's bondman, sold in the market by the bailiff; 6s. for 9 "kebb" wethers, sold in the market after the shearing at 8d. apiece; 18d. for 2 wethers sold as above at 10d. and 8d. respectively; and 26s. for one ram and 38 "kebb" ewes, sold as above at

8*d.*; and 7*s.* 6*d.* for 30 of the worst lambs sold before shearing in the market at 3*d.* apiece. Total, 48*s.*

Fines and Marriages.—13*s.* 4*d.* the tithing penny at the tourns of Martinmas and Hockday; and 2*s.* 6*d.* from John Starlynge for 1 toft and 1 ferling of bondland in Craule, in the north part, formerly Chopyn's, afterwards William Wilde's, by surrender of the same William Wilde; and 20*d.* from Thomas Alleyne, the younger, the lord's bondman, son and heir of Thomas Alleyne the elder, for one gavelland,* to wit, one messuage, one ferling of bondland and 10 acres of the same in the north part of Craule, which belonged to his father; and 20*d.* from John Aleyne, the lord's bondsman, for one messuage and 1 ferling of workable land, containing 15 acres of bondland in the north part of Craule, formerly belonging to his father Thomas Aleyne, late William Sely's, by surrender of the said William Sely; 7*s.* 6*d.* from John Sely the elder, the lord's bondsman, for having Christian, Edith and Alice, his daughters, the lord's bondwomen, married outside. Total, 26*s.* 8*d.*

Perquisites of Court.—8*d.* at the Martinmas tourn; 2*s.* 11*d.* at the Hockday tourn; 3*s.* 6*d.* at the courts held by the bailiff between the said two tourns; and 2*s.* 3*d.* at courts held after the tourn of Hockday. Total: 9*s.* 4*d.*

Sales upon Account.—46*s.* for divers things sold outside, in total of receipts, with arrears: £34. 9*s.* 9*d.*

Customs of Ploughing and Cartage.—Nothing this year, because they belong to the farmer.

Purchases of Corn and Stock.—Paid for 3 bushels of corn for the expenses of the steward of the lord's lands, holding the Martinmas and Hockday tourns, according to 2 sealed bills, at 5½*d.*, 16½*d.*; paid for 2 quarters, 2 bushels of oats for the same, at 20*d.*, 3*s.* 9*d.*; paid for 28 lambs

* Land divided equally among the heirs on the death of the holder.

from Hugh Combe,* clerk, bought before shearing, at $7\frac{1}{2}d.$, $17s.$ $6d.$; for 34 lambs, bought as above from the reeve of Drokenesford, at $8d.$, $22s.$ $8d.$ Total, $45s.$ $3\frac{1}{2}d.$

Costs of the Sheepfold.—In wages of John Leche, carpenter, in new-fitting and repairing the “rakkes” round the house, with the lord’s timber, and mending 7 doors in both sheepfolds, and putting new one “grumsill,” on the north side of the house at the east end, by the job, done under supervision, $6s.$ $8d.$; paid for 3 pieces of timber, cut down in Northwode for the same, and staples, $4d.$; for carriage of the same to the sheepfold in two carts, $8d.$; for 5 padlocks and 4 hooks, with keys to the same, bought for the doors, $18d.$; for new-boarding 3 spaces in the east sheepfold at the south end, $6d.$, namely $2d.$ per space; for one space at the east end of the west sheepfold, $2d.$; paid for two carts of brushwode, cutting down the same and carrying to the sheepfolds, $6d.$ each, $12d.$; for new-making one furlong of the fence round the fold at Lechecrofte, $20d.$; for 5 cartloads of brushwood for the same, cut down in Northwode and carried to the sheepfold, at $6d.$, $2s.$ $6d.$; wages of one thatcher, hired with his two men, thatching the ewe-fold for one day, $10d.$; for 500 spurs for the same, collected and sharpened, $1d.$; for one cartload of straw, together with $4d.$ for carriage from the manor to the sheepfold, for the same, $12d.$; for 7 cartloads of hay bought to give the ewes this winter, at $5s.$, $35s.$; for 3 cartloads of hay for the hoggasters, $15s.$; for 7 cartloads of straw for the wethers, at $16d.$, $9s.$ $4d.$; paid to 3 shepherds for half of their ploughing this year, namely $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, at $10d.$, $6s.$ $3d.$; in payment for livery of one boy helping the shepherd of the ewes at lambing-time, namely for 4 bushels of barley, at $5d.$, $20d.$; to three servants of the court for their “duddes,” to wit, the shepherds of the wethers, ewes, and hoggasters, at $14d.$ for the “dudde,” $3s.$ $6d.$; for new-making 4 furlongs

* Rector.

10 perches of the fence round the coppice in Northwode this year, for safe-keeping the lord's underwode, at 20*d.* the furlong, 7*s.* 1*d.*, for healing 12 ewes this year, 4*d.* Total, 4*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.*

Cost of Houses.—For wages of one tiler, hired with his servant for roofing with tiles the hall and porch of the grange for 2 days, at 9*d.* per day for both, 18*d.*; wages of one mason, hired to under-pin the "grumsill" of the granary, and to mend the stone "butras" there, and for doing other necessary things there, by the job, under supervision, 7*s.*; for one quarter of burnt limestone, bought for the same, with 4*d.* for carriage from Winchester to the manor, 16*d.*; 4 bushels of sand for the same, 4*d.*; collecting 4 cartloads of flints, with carriage, at 4*d.*, 16*d.*; wages of 2 carpenters hired for cutting and fixing two posts of the lord's timber for the gate at Northwode and making one gate to the same, and for repairing the house at the west end of the hall in the manor, almost in decay, for 7 days at 5*d.* per day each, 5*s.* 10*d.*; for cutting down 9 pieces of timber for the same, 9*d.*; for carrying the same from the wood to the manor, and the gate from the manor to Northwode, two days at 16*d.*, 2*s.* 8*d.*; wages of one labourer, hired to dig holes for fixing the said posts into, 4*d.* for one day; for one "goosefoot," two "wodecokes," two "hokes," two "wyndyngbends" and iron staples for the said gate, weighing altogether, 16½*lbs.*, at 1½*d.* a lb., 2*s.*; nails bought for the same, 2*d.* Total, 23*s.* 3*d.*

Grinding and Winnowing.—In autumn expenses nothing this year, because they belong to the farmer.

Expenses of the Steward.—Expenses of Thomas Walle, steward of the lands, and of Hugh Combe, clerk, overseer of the tenants, at the Martinmas and Hockday tours, according to two sealed bills, 12*s.* 10*d.*

Bailiff's Fees.—For the fee of Richard Neuport, esquire, bailiff there for one whole year at the rate of 10 marks the year, 26s. 8d. ; he takes the residue in other manors. Total, 26s. 8d.

Total of all expenses: 10l. 4s. 11½d.

And he owes 24l. 4s. 9½d.

Allowances (without writ).—Allowed to him for divers overcharges, as well within as without, in this account, 2s. 7d. Allowances by writ: in money delivered to Hugh Pakenham, treasurer of Wolvesey, by Master Thomas Walkyngton, treasurer of the lord's household, as the price of 46 "kebb" wethers delivered to the same household, 46s.

Money Paid.—To the said Hugh Pakenham, by the hands of Robert Waite, late collector of the rents there, of the arrears of last year by one tally, 40s. 9d. ; and to the same by the hands of William Sely, farmer and accountant there, of new issues of this year, by one tally, 50s. ; and to the same by the hands of Thomas Davy, collector of rents there this year, of the new issues of this year, by one tally, 14l. 5s. 8d. Total, 18l. 16s. 5d.

Total of all allowances, payments and deliveries, 21l. 5s., and there is still owing 59s. 9½d., whereof, chargeable upon Robert Wayte, collector of rents there, of the arrears of last year, nothing ; upon William Sely (as above), nothing ; upon Thomas Davy (as above), 59s. 9½d.

Corn.—William Sely, farmer and reeve there, answers for 15qrs. of corn remaining ; and there remain 15qrs. of corn in the hands of the said farmer to restore at the end of his term of 8 years, and this is the 7th ; of "coral" corn nothing, because it belongs to the farmer. Barley, 24qrs. ; pease, 3qrs. ; vetch, 4qrs. ; oats, 16qrs., to be restored as above.

Livery of Servants.—Nothing, because it belongs to the farmer.

Horses.—3 remaining, and one, the heriot of John Rogger *alias* Gibbes; total 4; whereof sold one, as above, being the heriot; there remain 3, at 13s. 4d. each, to be restored as above.

Oxen.—17 remaining, at 11s. each, to be restored as above. Bulls, cows, calves, young oxen, heifers and other animals, none.

Wethers.—447 remain, and 92 hoggasters added below after shearing; 2 wethers coming to the lord as strays after shearing; total 541; whereof 23 were lost in the murrain before shearing, four being "kebbs," and 6 in the murrain after shearing, 2 being "kebbs"; stolen by night by thieves unknown, after shearing, 5; sold in the market, as below, after shearing, 9; delivered in return for the services to a number of sheep of a ram, which was passing through the village, 1; sold in the market as strays, 2; and upon account 46, none being "kebbs"; total 92; and there remain 449 wethers for the lord's stock.

Rams.—9 rams remained, and 1 was added from the hoggasters after shearing, and 1 received from the wethers' fold, going there for a number of sheep, after shearing; total 11; of which sold in the market by the farmer after shearing 1 "kebb"; there remain 10 rams for the lord's stock.

Ewes.—400 ewes remained; 66 added from the hoggasters after shearing; total 466; whereof in the murrain before shearing, 19, 6 being "kebbs" and before lambing, 6; in the murrain after shearing, 7; sold by the farmer after shearing 38 "kebbs"; total 64; and there remain 402 ewes for the lord's stock.

Hoggasters.—319 remaining from the lambs; whereof in the murrain before shearing, 96; added to the wethers after shearing, 92; to the rams, 1; and to the ewes, 66; to the lambs after shearing, 74.

Lambs.—318 lambs lambd by all the said ewes, and not more, because 6 ewes died before lambing, 37 cast their lambs, and 39 were barren this year; and 74, added from the hoggasters, after shearing; and 62 lambs received by purchase in the market, to wit, from Hugh Combe, clerk, before shearing, 28, and from the reeve of Drokenesford, 34, after shearing; total 454; whereof in the murrain before weaning and shearing, 36; in tithes, 28, and not more, because 62 were by purchase, and 74 additions are not tithed here; in the custom of the reeve, smith, shepherd of wethers, and shepherd of ewes, 4; in the murrain after shearing, 7; sold in the market, of the worst taken away before shearing, 30; total 105; and there remain 349 lambs for the lord's stock.

Fleeces.—364 wethers' fleeces and no more, because 60 "kebb" wethers were shorn at Merton; 9 rams, 481 ewes, and 233 hoggasters come into the shearing this year; total 987 fleeces, whereof in tithe 99; delivered to the treasurer of Wolvesey 888 fleeces, weighing 2 bales, 50 cloves.

Lambswool.—Fleeces of 248 lambs shorn this year and sold as above, being 5 cloves 1lb. in weight.

Broken Wool.— $2\frac{1}{2}$ cloves of broken wool, collected by the shepherd at the shearing, sold as above.

Hides.—Nil, because they belong to the farmer.

Fleecy Pelts.—23 wethers, 19 ewes, and 86 hoggasters dead of the murrain, as above, before shearing, sold as above.

Shorn Pelts.—6 wethers, 7 ewes, dead of the murrain after shearing, as above, sold as above.

Lambs' Pelts.—36 lambs dead of the murrain, as above, before shearing and before separation, sold as above.

Pelletules.—7 lambs dead of the murrain, as above, sold as above.

Bees.—None remain.

Sows.—1 sow remaining, worth 4s., to be restored as above.

Pigs and Hoggets.—None. Little pigs; none this year, because they belong to the farmer. .

Geese.—1 goose and four young ganders remaining, worth 4d. apiece, to be restored as above.

Capons.—24 capons remaining, to be restored as above.

Cocks and Hens.—1 cock and 5 hens remaining, and 125 of the customary churchshot at Martinmas, total 131. Whereof in default of the lands of William le Straunge, treated as demesne this year, 4; and the same on the lands of William de Court, William Crouch, the pigherd, Richard the Cowherd, and Richard Knave; 2 apiece from Thomas Davy, John, son of William Seeley the elder, John Pytter,* William Couche, Edith Gybbes *alias* Roger, and John Aleyne, because they are widowers, widows, and not married, total 12; in default of churchshot of the land of William Wylde, because released to him by fine, 4; the like on two ferlings of land, called Morauntes and Sewelles, in the lord's hands, 4 each, 8; sold in the market 77; total 125; and there remain 1 cock and 5 hens, to be restored as above.

Chickens and Eggs.—Of the issue of the said hens, nothing, because they belong to the farmer.

Implements.—Three ploughs with three pairs of irons and all the iron apparatus for 16 oxen, worth altogether, 20s.; two harrows with iron teeth, worth together 2s. 6d.; 4 wooden harrows, worth together 18d.; one corn drill, worth 8d.; one bushel and one peck bound with iron, worth together 18d.; one winnowing fan, worth 12d.;

* The family of this name dwelt in Crawley up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

2 sacks worth 14*d.*; one sieve, worth 12*d.*; one cart bound with iron, with body, and steps, worth 16*s.* 8*d.*; one cart saddle, worth 8*d.*; 6 collars, 3*s.*; 4 pairs of traces, 3*s.* 4*d.*; one cart rope, 20*d.*; 3 leather grain bags, 18*d.*; 2 hempen bags, worth nothing; one brass five-gallon pot, 6*s.* 8*d.*; one posnet, of no value; one brass 5 gallon pan, worth nothing; one 12 gallon pan, worth 2*s.*; one lathe, worth nothing; one "vate" for the dairy, nil; one iron anvil, one iron "pykehorne" of no weight; one pair of "belowys," 2 "forehamers," 1 "hondhamer," 2 pairs of "tongis," 1 pair of "pynsours," 1 "wassher," 1 "herthstaf," 1 "botre," 1 iron "causer," weighing altogether 16lbs. All these remain with the farmer, to be restored as above, or in the custody of John Starlynge, smith, to be re-delivered when demanded.

Customary Works.—(i) *Ploughing*: The ploughing of 25 acres by each customary tenant holding 2 virgates of land, 11 virgates, and 13 semi-virgates in the south part of Craule, of whom each one having one whole "ploughable" plough [will plough] one acre at the winter sowing, receiving from the lord, for the ploughing of each acre, 1*d.* Total: 25 acres. Whereof in acquittance of one reeve holding one virgate of land in the south part, for the ploughing of one acre, and in default of 15 customary tenants who have not whole ploughs this year, 15 acres, in ploughing the lord's land, 9 acres as they lie. Total, as above. (ii) *Harrowing*: The harrowing of 90 acres of land, due from the said customary tenants of two virgates of land, who harrow 8 acres, 11 virgates and 13 semi-virgates in the south part of Craule, and 1 semi-virgate in Wodecote, each of which harrows 2 acres, 3 cottages in the north of Craule, each of which harrows 3 acres, 17 ferlings in the north part, each of which harrows one acre, 1½ virgates in Wodecote which harrow 6 acres, as they lie, whether they have horses or not, and sows them,

fetching the seed from the lord's grange in their own sacks, receiving from the lord 10 strips of hide for their harness. Total, 90 works. Whereof, in acquittance of one reeve holding one virgate of land, the harrowing of 4 acres; in the like of one smith, 3 ploughmen, and 4 shepherds, each holding 1 ferling, for the harrowing of 8 acres; in the like of one ferling apiece of the land of Henry Wodecote, John Sely, Robert Selv, John Roger *alias* Gibbes (late William Vayne's), John Lange,* John Belle, John Hodeman, and John Muleward, whose works are paid in money, the harrowing of 9 acres; on the demesne, at the sowing of oats this year, harrowing 69 acres, as they lie. Total as above.

Carriage for the Fold.—75 works due from 25 customary tenants in the south part of Craulee, each of whom will carry 5 hurdles of the lord's fold from field to field, as often as it may be necessary to move it; and it is estimated that this can be done in 3 days in common years, and if the lord requires more works they will work longer. Total 75 works, whereof in acquittance of one reeve, 3 works; in carrying the lord's fold, as above, 72 works. Total as above, and they balance.

Carriage and loading of Dung; and 180 works of carrying and loading dung by 25 tenants in the south of Craulee, 3 cottagers in North Craulee, and 2 customary tenants in Wodecote, each of whom will find one workman with horses and cart, to load the manure in carts and carry it to the fields till all is carried,—6 works by each. It is estimated that it can be done in common years in 6 days, but they will work longer if the lord requires, and less if less be needed. And six weeks of loading from one customary tenant, who will find one man for filling the carts with dung for the time aforesaid. Total 186 works;

* The Longs were in Crawley from the middle of the fourteenth until the middle of the eighteenth century.

whereof in acquittance of one reeve and one shepherd, 12 works; and in so carrying, etc., 174.

Mowing the Lord's Meadow of Wolvesey.—50 works of mowing, tossing, raising, cocking, carrying, and ricking the hay, by 25 customary tenants in South Craulee, and 25 in North Craulee who will mow, etc., 6 acres of the lord's hay in Wolvesey, in common, receiving nothing for the same,—whereof in acquittance of 1 reeve, 1 smith, 3 carters, and 3 shepherds, 8 works, and in so mowing, etc., 42.

Carriage of Wood.—168 works of the carriage of wood, and 25 by 25 customary tenants in South Craulee, each of whom will carry one cartload of wood to Wolvesey against Christmas, receiving nothing therefor. Total, 193 works. Whereof 1 in acquittance of one reeve; in such carriage, none. And there remain 192 works.

Washing and Shearing of Sheep.—And 100 works from 50 customary tenants in Craule and Wodecote, each of whom will find one workman for washing the lord's sheep. It is estimated that it can be done in two days in common years, but they work longer if required; and 195 works of shearing from the said 50 tenants, one of whom finds 4 men for a day, one three, ten two each, and 38 one each; estimated to take 3 days, but if necessary they will work longer; and 2 works from 2 customary tenants in North Craule, each of whom finds one man for a day. Total, 297 works; whereof in acquittance of one reeve, 8 works; in acquittance of one smith, 3 shepherds, and 3 ploughmen, 5 works each, 35; and in default of one virgate and one half virgate and one cottage in Wodecote, which are in the lord's hands, 27 works (9 each); and in so washing and shearing the sheep, 227 works.

Autumn Boon-days.—255 works from 48 customary tenants in Craule and Wodecote, one finding 4 men to do

3 works in 3 days, one finding 3 men, 32 two men, and 14 one each, to do the said 3 works, for mowing, binding and collecting, the lord providing food; and 4 boon-works from 2 customers, each of whom will find one workman for 2 boon-works, as above; and 3 from 3 tenants, each of whom will find one man for one boon-work. Total, 262 works; whereof in acquittance of one reeve, 3 carters, and 3 shepherds, 42 works, namely 6 each; in acquittance of one woodward, nil, because there is none this year; in acquittance of one smith, 3; in acquittance of 9 ferlings of land, the works of which are sold, as above, 54 works; of one virgate of land and of one semi-virgate in Wodecote, because they are in the lord's hands, 12 works. In default of one cottage in Wodecote, in the lord's hands, 2 works; in acquittance of one ferling, late John Sely's, now in the lord's hands, 3 works; in mowing, etc., 40 acres of corn, 146 works.

Autumn Works.—And 950 autumn works from 19 customary tenants in North Craule, each of whom will do one work every "workable" day between the Gules of August* and Michaelmas, except on feast-days, when they ought not to work; and when they reap, they ought to reap for one work half an acre of corn, barley, pease, or vetch, or one acre of oats, as they lie, taking from the lord for the reaping, tying, and gathering of each acre a sheaf. Whereof in acquittance of 3 ploughmen and 3 shepherds 200 works; in acquittance of 3 ferlings of land in North Craule, the works whereof have been released from old days, 150 works; of the works of 9 ferlings sold, as above, during the lord's pleasure, 450 works, namely 50 each; in acquittance of 3 ferlings of workable land, the works of which are released on account of poverty, 150 works. Totals balance.

Carriage of Corn.—150 works from 25 customary tenants, each carrying the lord's corn till the whole is

* August 5th.

inned, estimated to require 6 days in common years, but if necessary they will work longer. Whereof in acquittance of one reeve, 6 works, and in so carrying, 144 works.

Ricking Corn.—6 works from one customary tenant in Suthcraule, who will find one man till all the lord's corn is ricked, estimated to take six days, but if necessary he will work longer. All in so ricking this year.

Winter Works.—1568 winter works from 19 customary tenants in North Craule, each of whom will do two works every week between Michaelmas and the Gules of August, excepting in the weeks of Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas, when they do not work, namely from each 82 works; and when they grind, each will grind 3 bushels of corn, 5 of barley, 3 of pease or vetch, or 6 bushels of oats for one work, and each work is worth $\frac{3}{4}d$. Whereof, in acquittance of 3 ploughmen and 2 shepherds, 410 works; in acquittance of 3 ferlings, of which the works are released from old times, as above, 246 works; in acquittance of 9 ferlings at the will of the lord, as above, 738 works; in acquittance of one ferling, late John Sely's, as above, 82; in default of one ferling, late John Sely's, in the lord's hand for want of a tenant, 82. Total as above.

Works to be done in common.—Be it known that all the customary tenants in Northcraule will carry letters or writs to Merdon or Overton as often as may be necessary, and also will carry 1 quarter of oats to Wolvesey for the lord's stay there only: 2 customary tenants in Woodcote ought also to keep closed and maintain in common, with the help of all the customary tenants in Suthcraule 16 perches of the paling round Waltham Park, and also to fetch and carry away with their horses and carts hay for the lord's beasts, wherever it may have been bought, provided they can go and return in the same day. And the said customary tenants of Suthcraule are bound to find in

common five men to collect the apples in the garden at Waltham; and they are bound to carry the lord's wool and cheese to Hampton or Bitterne, and if the lord wants to build any house, they are bound to fetch timber and carry it to Craule.

The exhaustive capitulation of services, contained in the closing sections of this roll, is of unusual interest. From it we learn the exact tale and the varied character of the duties which the copyholders were called upon to perform. Each occupant of two virgates was under obligation "to plough one acre of the lord's land at the winter-sowing," for which he received one penny. He had also to harrow and sow eight acres, "fetching the seed in his own sacks," and being rewarded with "ten strips of leather for harness." Further, the twenty-five customary tenants in the south part of the manor, in the course of the year, had to give a minimum, of three days' work, carrying hurdles from field to field for the lord's fold, of six days' carting manure, of two days' haymaking in the lord's meadow of Wolvesey, of as many washing and shearing sheep, and of six days' carting corn. In addition to the works here enumerated, each tenant was to convey a cartload of wood to Wolvesey over against Christmas, and, with his fellow copyholders, share in the maintenance of sixteen perches of the palings round Waltham Park, in finding five men to gather apples in the garden of that palace, in fetching and carrying hay for the lord's beasts, and in carting wool and cheese to Southampton.

The tenants in the north part of Crawley seem to

have held their lands on a more servile basis, to judge from the number and nature of the works expected of them. They were obliged to give two days "every week between Michaelmas and the Gules of August," except in the holy weeks of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. During harvest they had to do "one work every workable day," and at all times be prepared to carry writs and messages to Merdon or Overton. The careful record of these services is doubtless designed to secure the rights of the lord. For already it was largely retrospective in character, showing what had been, rather than what was. Many of the obligations had been commuted for money payments. Some had become merely nominal, or were no longer performed personally, but by deputy. Nevertheless, as giving a clear insight into the inner-working of a mediæval manor, the details merit the reader's closest attention.

CHAPTER VIII.

CRAWLEY IN THE DAYS OF THE TUDORS AND STUARTS.

As the centuries progress the records of Crawley become more formal and more fragmentary. Moreover, they are often harder to decipher, as the scribes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not write as well and as carefully as their forerunners of preceding ages. In the absence of a map (for none is known to exist of earlier date than 1820) it is extremely difficult, or rather almost impossible, to locate the lands of the various tenants. The accounts in consequence are of a dry-as-dust character and become merely a list of names, involving a heavy claim on the reader's patience. In the fifth year of Henry VII (1490) the roll, drawn up by "John Cooper, farmer, and Thomas Pytter,* collector of rents," gives the names of the landholders as—

John Skylllyng, of a croft called the "Howe," late John Etney's.

Henry Wodecote, *Roger Couche*.

William Couche, holding land late John Whetelond's, for-

* The Pitter family has lived in this locality over four hundred years. During the 17th, and part of the 18th, century Pitters held New Barn farm, and one of them in 1690 built the house (near the foot of the village) which, with the adjacent land, was long known as "Pitter's Living."

merly John Longe's, also the copyhold, late Richard Palmer's, formerly Sewell's, previously John Belle's.

Richard Sely, land called Bodyeslond.

John Gibbes, *alias* Roggers, land called Vayne's.

John Sely, son of William Sely, holding land, called Symondes, late Thomas Corbett's, formerly John Belle's.

Robert Wayte, land, late Thomas Aleyn's, previously William Huddeman's.

Thomas Davy, land, late Roger Lyght's.

Customary works were released, without payment, to William Hoddeman, Robert Gibbes, and William Farnehull, on account of their poverty.

Three fines of 2s. 6d. each were paid by William Davy for the marriages of his daughters Alice, Agnes, and Agnes junior. Two carpenters were hired to "groundsell anew four spaces in the shepherd's house and to mend the plates of the aforesaid," for eleven days at 11d. the day.

The next glimpse of Crawley at this epoch is to be obtained in a muster roll of the county of Southampton, giving a list of those capable of bearing arms, their particular weapons, and the value of their personal property. The date of this roll is 1523. In that year the total effective forces of Crawley consisted of the eighteen able archers and billmen, named below :—

					Prestmoney
John Salmon, hath ii Jakks* assigned					
Able billmen, ii -	{	William Bryan	-	-	-
		David Pink	-	-	-
Able billman -		John Bechamp	-	-	-
Cissile Bechamp, in goods—v <i>li.</i>					x <i>s.</i>

* Jakk=coat of mail. Bill=pike. Prestmoney=earnest money for the soldiers' service, money in hand.

		Prestmoney
Able archers, ii	{ Thomas Bechamp - - - -	-
	{ William Bechamp - - - -	-
Able billmen, ii	John Alyn, in goods—vii <i>li.</i>	- xiiii <i>s.</i>
	Thomas Wayte, in goods—v <i>li.</i>	- x <i>s.</i>
Able billman	William David, in goods—vi <i>li.</i>	- xii <i>s.</i>
	and he hath a Jak complete.	
Able billman	John Pether, hath a Jak complete	-
	William Stephuns, in goods—v <i>li.</i>	- x <i>s.</i>
Able billman	William Plompton, hath a Jak complete	- - - -
Able archer	John Page, in goods—xiv <i>li.</i>	- xxviii <i>i.</i>
	Thomas David jun., hath a Jakk complete, and in goods—vi <i>li.</i>	- xii <i>i.</i>
Able archer	John Wayte, in goods—xii <i>li.</i>	- xxiii <i>i.</i>
Able billman	Hary Coup, hath 1 payar of alme, Revett complete	- - - -
	Item the parishe have a comyn harnez almen Revett * assigned to	-
Able billman	John Page - - - -	-

In 1567 the principal copyholders were John Stevens (*alias* Couche), William Plumpton, Richard Stevens (*alias* Wayte), William Allen, William Carpenter, William Davye, junior, Thomas Wayte, John Davye, Thomas Davye, Thomas Allen, and William Davye, senior. A fine was received from Francis Jeffreys on admission to tenements, including a cottage with smithy in North Crawley and land in the common field called Holmefield, by surrender of Gawin Mathew. Forty shillings were obtained as the price of a horse and a cow taken as heriots after the death of Robert Browning.† In 1570 fines were received from Thomas Wayte for marrying his daughters,

* German coat of mail (?). Cf. Hanse of Almain.

† Brownings have lived in the village continuously from this date to the present day.

Isabel, Joan, and Marlina, outside the manor (marriages seem to have been conducted on wholesale lines *); from John Wayte, junior, for land "between a way called the Back-lane and the high road from Winchester"; from Gilbert Symes; from John Warden, "the bishop's janitor," for "a messuage in the north part, the late tenant of which, John Davy, hanged himself and so the premises escheated." In 1593 the sum of 6*d.* was received from all the tenants of South Crawley for licence to dig clay on their fineable lands to repair their tenements. Two years later the warren in North Wood was demised to the tenants. In the same year Christopher Peryn, clerk,† was admitted to a messuage and bondland called Edrokes, and Amos Jeffreys succeeded his father in the smithy.

Dull as may be the sparse manorial records, the century had been momentous in many ways. Events took place which changed the course of the nation's history, but left little trace on that of Crawley. The Reformation in religion seems to have produced small effect either in the village, or the county. There were no martyrs, and apparently the people became cheerful Protestants under bluff King Hal, rallied to the old religion, with their rector Hardyng, under Mary, and accepted Renniger's Calvinism in the reign of Elizabeth. They did not discriminate too nicely between the doctrines propounded from "the honest and comely pulpit," which the churchwardens were bound by statute to provide. Whatever may have been their

* Such groups of marriages are frequently referred to, as may be seen on pages 75 and 90.

† Curate.

religious leanings, we may be sure that they felt as one man, when on the fateful July night in 1588, the beacons blazed on all the surrounding hills, announcing the advent of the Spanish Armada, and summoning all the trusty bills and blades of the countryside. We can imagine too the excitement, when someone brought the news from Winchester that Drake and his sea-dogs were herding the Spaniards up the Channel, and that the kingdom of Elizabeth was saved.

It now remains to consider the social and economic position at this period. In this, as far as the labourer is concerned, there is little change from the days of the third Henry to those of the eighth. From 1400 to the death of the latter monarch his condition was progressively good, and stationary at the highest level for nearly the whole of Henry's reign, more than thirty seven years in duration. In 1541, the prices of the chief commodities were somewhat as shown in the subjoined list of Professor Thorold Rogers :—

Wheat	-	-	5s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	the quarter.
Beef	-	-	5s. 1d.	} per hundredweight.
Mutton	-	-	5s. 0d.	
Cheese	-	-	5s. 5d.	
Eggs	-	-	6d.	per long hundred (120).
Candles	-	-	1s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	per dozen pounds.
Cloth	-	-	17s. 0d.	} per dozen yards.
Shirting	-	-	6s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
Peasant's labour	-		6d.	} per day of eight hours.
Artisan's labour	-		4d.	

Food must have been cheap and abundant, for every writer of this period, who makes his comments

on the customs and practices of English rural life, adverts to the profuseness of diet, and the extraordinary uncleanness of habits and persons. But from the middle of the sixteenth century a general decline in prosperity set in, and a degradation of labour began which lasted until about eighty years ago. During that time the wages of labour were a bare subsistence supplemented by the poor rate. The primary efficient cause of this mischief was the debasement of the coinage in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, which, though it lasted only sixteen years, was far more potent in those times than it could possibly be to-day, and exercised a considerable influence upon the history of labour and wages for more than two hundred years. For, as an immediate result of the debasement, all persons who were receiving fee farm or fixed rent, the amount of which had not varied from the thirteenth century, were receiving, as it would seem, contentedly and without consciousness of change, about half the money in the fifteenth which their predecessors had received in the thirteenth century. Elizabeth wisely effected a reformation in the currency, but the evil was done, and facts were too strong for her. The wages of labour possessed less and less purchasing power, and pauperism increased. Between the middle of her reign and the outbreak of the Civil War, a period of sixty years, general prices were more than doubled, while wages advanced not more than twenty per cent. The altered condition of the labourer is illustrated by the rise in the price of maintenance. In the early part of the fifteenth century the average cost of a labourer's board

was 9*d.* a week. Nor was there much variation till after the issue of base money. In 1542 board and lodging are put at a shilling per week, but ten years later they had risen to three shillings. Up to the year 1540 the average wages of an artisan in the country were 3*s.*, of a labourer working by the day 2*s.* a week. According to the price of wheat, in 1495 an agricultural labourer earned three-quarters of a bushel of wheat by a day's labour. In so cheap a year as this a peasant could provision his family for a twelve-month by fifteen weeks of ordinary work. In 1553 it would have required nearly double the amount of labour. Relatively speaking, the working man of a later period was not so well off as he was in the fifteenth century.* In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the labourer secured increased wages in the midst of decreasing prices. In the sixteenth the reverse which he suffered was far more considerable than the advantage which his forefathers gained.

The Queen's Government strove to stay the progress of pauperism by insisting on the creation of peasant holdings. An Act of 1592 prescribed that every labourer's cottage should have at least four acres of land attached to it. But the evil was too far gone for the remedies of legislation, and a Poor Law, under which the relief of destitution was guaranteed, was the only expedient before her Government, when it was left face to face with the irremediable poverty of labour. Now it is plain that, if the Poor Law of

* In all such cases it is necessary to take into account the purchasing power of the margin of income after the bare necessities had been provided.

Elizabeth had been carried out in all its details, the whole revenue of the land would have been ultimately swallowed up in relief of the poor. This the framers of the Act perceived, and directed that the parish resources should be supplemented from the rest of the hundred. It is evident that if the magistrates in Quarter Sessions were to fix the rate at which labour should be paid, as they regularly did in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they would have every motive to put the rate at the lowest sum which would sustain human life, knowing well that, if the labourer became destitute, all occupiers would have to assist in his maintenance, while the benefit of cheap labour would remain to those only who employed him, as indeed actually happened. For the effect of the Poor Law relief on the wages of labour was to keep them hopelessly low, and to hinder a rise in the most urgent circumstances. This is seen most clearly in the history of wages in the seventeenth century, when the prices of corn were very high, and the labourer's standard of subsistence fell. In the middle of that century real wages were little more than a fourth of those earned by the worker's grandfathers and great-grandfathers.

From local sources it is possible to gain a very clear idea of the state of domestic economy in the early part of the seventeenth century. The character and value of the personal property of a substantial farmer of the period may be found in the probate valuation of the goods of Mr. John Waight, who died in October, 1636, a member of the family that lived in Crawley more than three hundred years. The particulars are

to be found in "an inventorie* of all the goods and chattells of John Wayght of King's Worthy, yeoman, deceased, taken and appraysed by John Earle, William Darcy, Richard Bright, and John Webb, yeomen, the xjth daye of October, 1636."

IN THE HALL.

In primis : ii litle tables with frames to them, one cubbard, i forme, ii chaires, and a painted cloth - - - - -	xxiiis. iiid.
Item : ii musketts with their furniture - - -	xxxiiis. iiid.
Item : an iron jacke, iii spitts, ii paire of tonges, a firepan, a pothanger, a paire of andirons, an iron slyce, ¹ a paire of bellows, and a finder - - - - -	xxs.

IN THE CHAMBER WITHIN THE HALL.

Item : one joyned ² bedsteed with curtains & rodds, i fetherbedd, ii fetherbolsters, ii pillowes, ii coverletts & i blanket - - -	£5.
Item : i court cubbard, ³ an old cubbard, a forme, an old chaire, a paire of playing tables, a warming pan, iiiii cushions, and painted clothes - - - - -	xviiis. vid.

IN THE LOFT OVER THE CHAMBER.

Item : one joyned bedsteede and tester with curtaines and rodds, i flock bedd, ii fether bolsters, i pillow, i paire of blankets, i coverlett and i rugg - - - - -	53s. iiid.
Item : His wearing apparel - - - - -	vi ^{li} . xiiis. iiid.
Item : Money in purse - - - - -	xs.
Item : ii chests, i trunk, i deske, i joyned box and other small things and a close stool -	xxs.

* *Hampshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. V.

¹ Fireshovel.

² Framed by joinery work.

³ A moveable sideboard used for plate.

Item : viii paires of sheets, iii table clothes, iiiii
pillow beers, i dozen and a half of napkins,
and ii longtowells - - - - 55s.

IN THE LOFTE OVER THE HALL.

Item : one boded bedsteede, i truckle bed-
steede, i fether bed, ii blankets, i bolster
and a coverlett - - - - - 33s.

IN THE LOFTE OVER THE MILKHOUSE.

Item : ii boorded bedsteads, ii flock bedds, ii
coverletts, ii bolsters, and three paire of
blankets - - - - - 33viis. viii*d*.

IN THE KITCHEN.

Item : iii brassepottes, ii kettles, iii skellets,¹
ii paire of pothookes, a brassepan, a brasse
skimmer, ii iron dripping pans, a mortar
and a pestle - - - - - 55s.

Item : a brewing fornace - - - - - 22viis. viii*d*.

Item : xii platters, viii pottengers, iiiii saucers,
ii salt-sellers, i pewter candlesticke, i flagon,
ii chamber pottes, and iiiii latten² candle-
sticks - - - - - 33iiiis. vi*d*.

Item : one powdering trough³ and cover, ii
chaines to hang potts on, a meshing fatte,
ii bucking tubbes, i keever,⁴ iii bucketts,
dishes, spoones, wooden platters and
other small things - - - - - 22iiiis. iii*d*.

IN THE MEALEHOUSE.

Item : an old maltmill, a sieve, a powdring
tubb, ii pipkins,⁵ iii bottles, a black jack,
and some other lumber - - - - - 22s.

IN THE SELLER.

Item : iiiii hogsheds and a stande - - - - - viiiis.

¹ A small pot of iron or copper with a long handle. ² Bronze.

³ Tub used for salting meat. ⁴ Washing tub. ⁵ Small casks.

IN THE MILKHOUSE.

Item: one butter cherne, iiii cheesefatts, v earthen milk pans and other smale imple- ments of householde - - - -	is. ix <i>d</i> .
Item: one paire of brasse scales and a frying pan - - - - -	iiis.

IN THE MALTHOUSE.

Item: a yoting fatte, ¹ an iron beame and scales, a todd ² weight, an iron cleaver, an iron barre, ii wedges and other small things - - - - -	xxs.
Item: a mathooke, a shovell, a broad axe, a bill, a hatchet, certeine prongs and other small things - - - - -	vis. viii <i>d</i> .

IN THE YARD.

Item: Two hundred and fourscore sheepe, both ewes & wethers, at vi <i>li</i> . the score - 84 <i>li</i> .	
Item: lxxx teggs, at iiii <i>li</i> . the score - - -	-xvi <i>li</i> .
Item: vi hoggs and one boare - . - -	-iii <i>li</i> . xiiis. iv <i>d</i> .
Item: vi shootes or yonge hogges - - -	xxxvis.
Item: ii old kine - - - - -	is.
Irem: iii other kine and one bull, which were taken for herriotts ³ - - - -	-viii <i>li</i> . xs.
Item: The wood and timber with ladders forkes and rakes - - - - -	liiis. iiiii <i>d</i> .

IN THE BARNES.

Item: The wheate in the barne to thrash	xxxiii <i>li</i> . vis. viii <i>d</i> .
Item: Three qrtres and a half of wheat	-iii <i>li</i> . xiiis. iiiii <i>d</i> .
Item: The barley in the barn to thrashe	- i <i>li</i> .
Item: The oates in the barne to thrashe	- xii <i>li</i> .
Item: The fatches in the house - - -	- iii <i>li</i> .
Item: The haye in the barn - - -	viii <i>li</i> .

¹ Fermenting vat.

² Tod=28lbs.

³ Goods due to the landlord on the tenant's death.

- Item : a winnowing sheet, a fanne, a skreene,
 ii willies,¹ a bushell, a maltseeve, ix sackes,
 and other seeves - - - - - xxxviii*s.* *vid.*
- Item : iv old horses in the stable, with their
 harness - - - - - vi*li.*
- Item : one paire of irebound cart wheels, ii
 long cart lades,² and dungcart, and an
 old paire of irebound wheeles - - 3*li.* 10*s.*
- Item : ii corne lines and ii woodropes - xii*li.* (? 12*d.*).
- Item : One plough with the chaines and other
 iregear, v harrowes, and a barley roller
 and other small utensills of husbandrie - xxx*s.*
- Item : vi silver spoons which are delivered to
 the executor - - - - - xxx*s.*
- Som^a to^l cclxxxij*li.* vs. iii*d.*

Here we have clearly illustrated the Spartan simplicity of a farmer's household at this period. To judge from the number of sheep alone, the owner must have been a substantial yeoman, farming no inconsiderable area. Yet his house was scarcely larger than a moderate-sized cottage, containing as it did but four rooms and a kitchen. Of these the hall, or parlour, was barely furnished with two small tables, a cupboard, a form, and two chairs. The most valuable furniture was to be found in "the chamber within the hall," apparently the guest-room, of which the main ornament was a "joynd bedstead," with curtains and the luxury of a "fetherbedd." The farmer himself obviously occupied the loft over this chamber, and was content with a flockbed. Two lofts, above the hall and the milkhouse respectively, with their "bored" and truckle beds, were doubtless the sleeping places of

¹ Large wicker baskets.

² Framework fixed on inside of a waggon.

children and servants. His plate appears to have been confined to six silver spoons, other tableware being of wood or pewter.

The prices of provisions and other commodities at this time are set forth in detail in an "Inquisition,* taken 1625, Charles I, August 21st, in the countie of Southampton, before Charles Talber, gent., deputie to Hugh May, Esq., clerke of the market of his Majestie's most honourable householde within the verge and throughout the whole realm of England as well within Liberties as without by the oathes of thirteen honest and lawful men of the price of graine, victuals, horsemeat, Lodging, and other things rated and taxed in manner and form following":—

First a quarter of the best wheat clean and finest in the market	- - - - -	36/-
Item a quarter of third wheat in the market	- - -	26/-
Item a quarter of the best Barley in the market	- - -	16/-
Item a quarter of the best beanes and pease	- - -	20/-
A bushell of beanes and pease mingled with oats for Provender in Innes	- - - - -	4/2
A quarter Best Oates in the market	- - -	16/-
And a Bushel of the same oates in every Inn	- - -	5/2
A kilderkin (18 gals.) of good ale or double Beere with Cariage	- - - - -	3/4
A full quart of the best ale or Beere by measur sealed	-	1d.
A full quart of single ale or Beere by measur sealed	-	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
A pound of butter sweet and new the best in the market	-	$3\frac{1}{2}$ d.
A pound of best Cheese in Shop or market	- - -	$2\frac{1}{2}$ d.
A Stone (8 lb.) of best Beefe at Butchers	- - -	14d.
A Stone of second best Beefe at Butchers	- - -	12d.
A Quarter best veale at Butchers	- - -	2/6
A Quarter best wether mutton at Butchers	- - -	2/-

* W. H. Jacob, *Hampshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. IV.

A Quarter best lamb	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 <i>d.</i>
A fat pigge the best in the market	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 <i>d.</i>
A lean or second pigge	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 <i>d.</i>
A couple of capons the best in the market	-	-	-	-	-	-	24 <i>d.</i>
A couple of leane or second capons	-	-	-	-	-	-	20 <i>d.</i>
A fat goose the best in the market	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 <i>d.</i>
A couple of chickens the best in the market	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 <i>d.</i>
A couple of lean chickens	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 <i>d.</i>
A couple of rabbets the best in the market	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 <i>d.</i>
A couple of second rabbets	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 <i>d.</i>
A dozen of pigeons best in the market	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 <i>d.</i>
Item, that every man being in Company Sixe or more together having at dinner or Supper good Bread & drinke Beefe & Mutton boyled or roasted or else Veale Boyled & Pigge Beefe or Veale roasted, or otherwise upon fish day to have good bread & drinke salt Fish or Salt Salmon Ling egges & Butter and So in defaulte of one meat to have another every man to pay for his meale							
A pound of tallowe Candles made of wicke	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 <i>d.</i>
A pound of Cotton or watching Candles	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 <i>d.</i>
A feather Bed with necessary apparel for one man one night and so depart	-	-	-	-	-	-	4½ <i>d.</i>
A feather Bed by the weeke for one man alone	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 <i>d.</i>
The like feather bed for 2 together by the weeke	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 <i>d.</i>
A mattresse or flock bed by the weeke for one or two	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 <i>d.</i>
A chamber with 2 beds good furniture one night and so depart	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 <i>d.</i>
Three horse loaves at the Bakers weighing each 8 ounces Troy	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 <i>d.</i>
A load of straw for Litter with cariage	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 <i>d.</i>
A hundred weighte of good and sweet haie	-	-	-	-	-	-	4/-
Every Bottle * of Haie	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 <i>d.</i>
100 faggots with Cariage	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 <i>d.</i>
A load of good Brush Bavins with Cariage	-	-	-	-	-	-	3/-
							5 <i>d.</i>

* Bottle=6lbs: hence the expression "to look for a needle in a bottle of hay."

A load of long or great Loggewood with Cariage	-	-	6/-
A hundred good oak boards with Cariage	-	-	8/-
A hundred good elm boards with Cariage	-	-	6/-
1000 Bricks	-	-	14/-
A Quarter of Charcoales	-	-	16d.
A vacant or emptie Room, either a stable or Chamber			
by the weeke	-	-	4d.
A Quart of the best Claret at the Vintners	-	-	6d.
A Quart of the best Sack at the Vintners	-	-	10d.

God Save the King.

CHAPTER IX.

GLEANINGS FROM THE LATER ROLLS.*

THE dates of several of the later rolls are uncertain, and can only be conjectured from internal evidence. This is particularly the case with the earliest accounts, which are only headed "for the time aforesaid" without specifying the year.

1607 (?).—8*d.*, the price of 1 lb. of cummin, from John Skillinge,—relief after the death of Swithin Skillinge—for land called the Hoo.

Fine from Henry Pucknoll, blacksmith, and Katherine his wife, on admission to a cottage with a smithy in N. Crawley and land, formerly belonging to Amos Geffery deceased, by surrender of Christopher Elie and Anne his wife, only daughter and heiress of the said Amos, living at Hunton.

1608 (?).—£3. 0*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* for 12 acres and 2 luggs of underwood growing in the lord's coppice called Bulway Coppice.

1609.—33*s.* for 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres and 16 perches of coppice wood growing in the Narway Copse.

1634.—From Henry Dawley, Esq. (of Lainston), for the Hoo, 8*d.* the price of 1 lb of cummin.

Fine from John Broadway, senior, of Easton, yeoman, by surrender of Richard and John Wilkins, alias Muncke, also for part of an orchard and courtyard and various parcels of land, and for part of a barn now being "the threshing flower."

* There are about 120 court-rolls of the Manor of Crawley, dating from the beginning of the 17th to the end of the 18th century, in the possession of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

£5. 16s. 8d., the price of one horse and one cow, for 2 heriots due after the death of Richard Page. 5s. for 2 stray sheep.

1636.—Fines, from Sybil Page; from Edward Roseblade for a messuage and courtyard adjoining the ancient messuage of John Wilkins in S. Crawley, with free entry at the said John's gate near the messuage, and use of the well there; from William Waight and his intended wife Thomasine, elder daughter of John Strangemore; from Roger Wayte, eldest son and heir of Lancelot Wayte, by his wife Mary.

1639 (?).—Fines from John Pitter* and Elizabeth, his wife, for 4 acres in N. Crawley called Trendle in the Westfield, by surrender of Henry, brother of Ambrose, Wayte; and from William Broadway, younger son of John Broadway, and his intended wife Anne Newman, spinster.

1641.—Fines, from William Longland, of Winchester, gentleman, for various parcels of land; and from Richard Beech on surrender of John and Elizabeth Pitter.

?—Fines, from John Godwin, younger son and heir of William Godwin; from Joseph Wayte, eldest son and heir of Roger Wayte.

Here occurs a long break in the series of rolls due to the Civil War and the Commonwealth, under which the lordship of the manor was sold to John Pigeon for £836. 11s. 6d. Bishop Curle was a staunch supporter of the King, and the mass of the people seem to have been ill-affected to the Parliament. During the greater part of this troublous time the land was suffered to lie untilled, being continually trampled on and wasted by the rival forces contending for the mastery of Winchester. A vivid sketch is drawn by Nehemiah Wallington of the conditions of the time, in the course

* John Pitter held New Barn farm, already known by that name, as his descendants did until 1769.

of which he says : " There is a very little parish, not far from Winchester, and all the land that was in it when times were good was not worth £400, yet this parish was seized (assessed) by Colonel Goring as he passed by at £300, which they were commanded presently to bring in without fail, of which the little parish could not raise any considerable proportion. Whereupon one of the chief men was committed, yet a man of small estate as they are all, and carried to Winchester, since which two have been at Winchester to certify the King's party that the place can hardly raise £80, and to raise that all must suffer extremely, and could not possibly raise any more. Whereupon the two men that came to offer £80 were both committed and remained prisoners at Winchester, and a party was sent out to plunder the place." Though the place referred to may not be Crawley, it is doubtless a lively picture of what happened there as elsewhere.

In 1643 Lord Hopton at Winchester summoned, as Field Marshal General of His Majesty's Western Forces, all Hampshire men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to appear in arms for the King at Winchester. Probably, therefore, many a Crawley man was forced to trail a pike for the King or saw his horses impressed to haul Waller's guns. For in March of the year 1644, Hopton's force, entrenched on Hunton Down, is described as consisting of " mostly young boys, torn from their weeping mothers and masters, who also want arms and military exercise." Among the " delinquents in arms " for the King in

the tithing of Crawley were Sir Gerard Fleetwood, Sir James Phillips, Bart., and —. Musgrave. The last was presumably a farmer, of whom nothing is known. The fate of Sir Gerard is dealt with elsewhere, and that of Sir James Phillips was somewhat similar. His lands on the Leckford border, near Rookley, were sequestered, whereupon he begged to compound for delinquency, stating that by compulsion he joined, as Captain, Sir William Ogle, who had married his mother, and held a garrison for the King, but surrendered to Sir William Waller before he was besieged. In consequence he was fined £700.

The Church, too, suffered at this period. The Rector of Crawley was dispossessed, as were also his brethren of Chilbolton, Worthy, and Wherwell. The Rector of Leckford, still more unfortunate, was imprisoned. Under the rule of the Parliament, the Directory was substituted for the Book of Common Prayer, which was prohibited. A first violation of this prohibition entailed a fine of £5, a second one of £10, and a third lapse brought three years' imprisonment. The churchwardens were ordered "forthwith to shift the Communion Table from the east end of the church into some other convenient place." All "candelstiks," tapers, and basons were to be removed and crucifixes destroyed. It was also ordered that "all corporal bowing at the name of Jesus or towards the East be henceforth forborne." Yet it is plain that, despite the ordinances of Parliament, the ordinary course of parochial administration flowed on underneath, undisturbed by the usurpations of the times.

The excesses of troops like those of Goring brought about a reaction against the King, and on June 26th, 1644, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, writing from Oxford, says: "The clubmen in Hampshire grow numerous, and, I hear, very stout." These clubmen wore white ribbons as a badge and derived their name from being armed with clubs, flails, scythes, and sickles fastened to long poles. The design was to form a third party neither Royalist nor Parliamentary. They were always ready, when necessary, to defend their homes and granaries. They wished for peace, punished plunderers, and protected pressed men who deserted from either army. Their banner was a white sheet, bearing the motto:—

"If you offer to plunder, or take our cattle,
You may be sure we'll give you battle."

With the establishment of the Protectorate order was restored, and all depredations rigorously suppressed.

Two years after the Restoration the manor was recovered by the Bishopric, and the records continue as follows:—

1664.—Fines were received from, Henry Symes and his intended wife Katherine Quallett, spinster; Thomas Wayte, youngest son and heir of Thomas Wayte; John Turner,* clerk, and Joan, now his wife, late Joan Wayte, mother of the said Thomas Wayte junior.

20s. for a farm called Pigeonshold, granted to Robert Pitter and William Godwin.

1669.—The ancient messuage of John Wilkins, formerly held by Edward Roseblade, is mortgaged to William Godwin by Edward Butterly.

1675.—13s. 4d. from John Godwin, William Hacke, Henry Allen, John Tolfrey, William Browning, William Stevens,

* Curate.

William Harris, Robert Baker, Ambrose Beech, and William Cleverly, for licence to enclose, plough, and sow 14 acres of land (more or less) in the tithing of Crawley, being parcel of the down of Crawley, for a term of 13 years, provided that it be not to the nuisance of any highway there.

John Godwin married Abigail Silver, spinster.

A complete list of the householders and the nature of their dwellings is given in the Hearth Tax rolls of this year. This tax was first imposed in 1672, and excited general discontent. Accordingly it was repealed immediately after the Revolution of 1688. Respecting it Lord Macaulay writes:—"The tax on chimneys called forth loud murmurs. The discontent excited by direct imposts is, indeed, almost always out of proportion to the quantity of money which they bring into the Exchequer, and the tax on chimneys was, even among direct imposts, peculiarly odious, for it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits, and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree, which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive. The poorer householders were frequently unable to pay their hearth-money to the day. When this happened their furniture was distrained without mercy; for the tax was farmed, and a farmer of taxes is, of all creditors, proverbially the most rapacious." A contemporary ballad records the unpopularity of the tax in these lines:—

"The good old dames, whenever they the chimney man espied,
Unto their nooks they haste away, their pots and pipkins hide:
There is not one old dame in ten, and search the nation through,
But if you talk of chimney men, will spare a curse or two."

But, as there is ever "a soul of goodness in things

evil," to this hateful impost the historian owes the following complete enumeration of householders and chimneys, the number of which necessarily denotes the size of the house.

Francis Morgan (Crawley House)	-	16	Chimneys.
Rookely Farme	- - - -	11	"
Doctor Dorrell (Rectory)	- - -	6	"
William Godwin (Long Park)	- - -	5	"
James Morgan (Pern's farm *)	- - -	5	"
Widow Browning, Robert Pitter,	{	3	"
Henry Symes (two overcharged)			

William Browninge, Richard Loveinge, Robert Baker jun., Richard Beech, Sibly (Sybil) Page, Ambrose Beech, William Broadway, Mr. John Turner (curate), Edward Butterly, each 2.

Robert Baker sen., James Weight, Henry Allen, John Tolefrey, William Harris, George Penton, William Page, Widow Pitter, each 1. Total of hearths, 78.

Hearths not chargeable :—William Poole, 1 ; Margaret Shepherd, 1 ; Ambrose Hennen, 1 ; Margery Pitter, 1 ; Thomas Allen, 1 ; Richard Franklin, 1 ; William Butterly, 2 ; Widow Willkins, 1 ; Widow Gregory, 1 ; Widow Weight, 1. Total, 11.

From a M.S. in the Salt Library at Stafford,† containing a census of the province of Canterbury made for Bishop Henry Compton of London in 1676, it is possible to arrive, with tolerable accuracy, at the total population of the village at the close of the seventeenth century. The figures given for Crawley are these :—

Inhabitants over 16 years of age.

Conformists	- - - -	250
Nonconformists	- - - -	3
Papists	- - - -	—

* The present building is, of course, of much later date.

† For this extract I am indebted to Dr. Andrews, of Basingstoke.

Adding twenty per cent. for children under sixteen, a total of 303 is obtained. It may be added that there was one Catholic family in Crawley at the time.

Returning to the manorial rolls, we find in that of 1678 these interesting entries, under the head of Fines.

Ambrose Beech has licence to pull down an old cottage on customary land in N. Crawley, between the tenements of Ambrose Wayte and Robert Wilkins, and put up another house or other building on his other land in S. Crawley.

Richard Long, a customary tenant, has licence to arrest, implead, and prosecute John Pitter, another customary tenant, out of the manor court, namely in the King's courts at Westminster, in a plea of trespass and assault.

The King's Subsidy. £2. 15s. for 11 months' taxation given to the King by Act of Parliament for the rent of the said manor.

1679.—Fines. Richard Wilkins for licence to build two new rooms to the East end of his house: Elizabeth Rumsey, spinster, for the guardianship of John Page, son of Christopher Page, deceased.

1680.—Fines, from Thomas Allen for an acre on Chilbolton Downe; from John Godwin, of Tunsbury, by surrender of Thomas Waite, of London, pewterer.

1682.—Fines, from William Godwin for a messuage in S. Crawley, by surrender of his brother John; from Charity Hacke, widow, and her sons Stephen and William, for a messuage and land called Newlands; from Miriam Gold, *alias* Hawkins, spinster, daughter of Elizabeth Gold, daughter of John Pitter, whose heir she is.

1689 (?).—£6 for 3 heriots on the land of William Broadway to be returned if not dead (!).

1692.—Fine, William Godwin, junior, eldest son of William Godwin, senior, for an acre called a foreacre in Bashingley.

1699.—Fines, from Elizabeth Cooper, niece and next of kin of John Page, deceased, aged 19, her guardian being Joan Cooper; Richard Morgan, cousin and next heir of the said John Page, for a messuage and virgate of bondland, and 22 acres in the South part of Crawley, and one acre of arable land called Staples acre, late Locages, except a close reserved to Ambrose Waight.

1704.—Fines, from Robert Pitter, younger son of John Pitter of Littleton, by surrender of Robert Pitter of Crawley; John Page and Ephany his wife.

1709.—Fine paid by Robert Wiseman,* clerk, for a messuage and a little parcel of land adjacent called "the gate-roome" parcel of a virgate of bondland, late William Selby's, in S. Crawley.

1719.—Fine received from William Waite, on surrender of his brother John *in extremis*.

William Wilkins, alias Muncke bequeathes £18 to Richard Morgan by will dated Oct. 4, 1718.

1721.—Fine from Thomas Pitter, son of John, for a messuage called Pitter's.†

1723.—Fine received from Joseph Collis, for "the gate-roome" reserving to Robert Wiseman, clerk, a parcel of land called "the Drove," leading to the parsonage barn, in the South part of Crawley.

1729.—Richard Fifield admitted to a messuage and land in S. Crawley, called Woodcott.

1730. John Pitter, the elder, yeoman, and Robert Crawley as attorneys for the admittance of Charles, Baron Bruce of Whorleton, to a copyhold messuage and 42 acres of land on the surrender of Edward Bellinger. (In the following year this was surrendered to John Merrill, of Lainstone, esquire. On his death in 1735, his wife Susanna was admitted. This land now forms part of Mr. Deane's property.)

* Rector.

† Situated just a little way above the Fox and Hounds. The house was built in 1694.

In 1738 the village was almost totally destroyed by fire. This disaster occurred in the first week of August, when nearly all the population was engaged in the fields, getting in the harvest. The only buildings, apart from the Church and Manor House, which seem to have escaped, are a few cottages at the bottom of the street near the pond, including Mr. Paige's, Mr. Steele's, and "Pitter's."

CHAPTER X.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

THE close of the seventeenth century was signalised by a great political revolution, but it was marked also by one no less important in the province of agriculture. This was brought about by the field cultivation of the turnip. From the thirteenth to the seventeenth century the process of English agriculture was a three-course system—of wheat in the first year; of oats, barley, or pease in the second; and a bare fallow in the third. During all this period the English farmer had nothing but arable crops, meadow hay, the pasture of closes, and the run of common grass to depend on. He had no winter roots and no artificial grasses with which to vary his rotation, while the system of open fields made it impossible to pen sheep, which were kept under cover from November to May, because there was no forage for them out of doors. The culture of the turnip changed all this. By providing a winter crop it finally brought about an improvement in the rotation of crops and led to the disuse of the system of annually letting one-third of the land lie fallow. By supplying winter food it also led gradually to the abandonment of the custom of killing live stock at the beginning of winter and the consequent large consumption of salted meat. This movement was accelerated, in the 18th

century, by the extension of artificial pasture and the increased use of clover, sainfoin, and rye grass.

But if the eighteenth century was characterised by great progress in the system of tillage, it was accompanied by a still greater decline in the economic condition of the labourer, who, by the end of that period, had reached his lowest level of material well-being. "I am convinced," says Professor Thorold Rogers, "that at no period of English history for which authentic records exist was the condition of manual labour worse than it was in the forty years from 1782-1821, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortunes rapidly, and in which the rent of agricultural land was doubled."* This degradation and pauperising of the English labourer was the result of a series of Acts of Parliament and measures of government, which were designed, or adopted, with the express purpose of compelling the labourer to work at the lowest rate of wages possible, and succeeded at last in effecting that purpose. In the middle of the eighteenth century the farm hand's wages were 7s. a week, or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times what they were three hundred years earlier. But the price of the quarter of wheat was nearly six times as great as it was in the earlier period. A similar increase was shown in the case of other commodities. In 1770 the prices of butter, cheese, and meat were 7d., 4d., and $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound respectively, while the average prices during 280 years of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries were 1d., $\frac{1}{4}$ d., and $\frac{3}{8}$ d. per lb. During the latter

* During the eighteenth century land sold at thirty-three-and-a-half years' purchase, and the average rent was ten shillings the acre.

portion of the eighteenth century the same rates of wages continued. Meanwhile, in 1780, wheat reached the price of fifty shillings the quarter, and after the deficient harvest of 1795 rose to 104s., and rarely fell below it. In fact, at this period, while wages remained stationary, the price of such provisions as a labourer could procure rose 125 per cent. In 1794 the wages paid in Crawley were:—Head carter, £9; under carter, £5; shepherd, £10. 10s.; upper maid-servant, £4; under servant, £2. 10s. per annum; day labourers 7s. to 8s. per week. It was obvious to any careful observer that, given the rate of wages and the rapidly increasing prices, it was impossible to support a family on a labourer's earnings, as when he had paid his rent and bought bread, he had left only 6d. per week for all the remaining necessities of life.

The landowners, however, were not wanting in humanity, and embarked on a course of doles which was perhaps as disastrous in a moral, as legislation had been in an economic, sense. On May 6th, 1795, a meeting of Berkshire magistrates was held at Speenhamland, near Newbury, when it was unanimously affirmed that the state of the poor required larger assistance than had been given generally. They therefore put out a scale, in which they calculated what should be the wages of workmen, according to the rise or fall in the price of bread. Thus when the gallon loaf should cost 1s., they reckoned that the labourer should receive, either by his own earnings or by an allowance from the poor rate, 3s. weekly for himself and 1s. 6d. for each of his family, and that with the

rise of every penny in the loaf he should receive an additional 3*d.* for himself and a penny for each of his family. This scheme was almost universally adopted in the South of England, so that in 1799 the poor rate of Crawley was 3*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, and it must be remembered that the rate did not then cover the various forms of expenditure that it does to-day. But the price of a gallon loaf was 3*s.* ! The overseers' books show that the greater part of the population of the village were in receipt of relief. Nevertheless, in 1801, Arthur Young calculated that a labourer could sixty years earlier have bought with five shillings what in that year would cost him 26*s.* 5*d.*, and that, therefore, his wages and parish allowance would at best have given him less than half the scale of earnings in the earlier period. It must also be pointed out that the Act, requiring each cottage to be accompanied by four acres of ground, and doubtless long "more honoured in the breach than the observance," had been repealed, while the Enclosure Acts had stripped the cottagers of their rights of common.

The cost of production had so far diminished, that the farmer could afford to pay out of the enhanced general profits, resulting from the Corn Laws, twenty times as much for the use of land as his ancestors did 200 years before. If the peasants' wages had risen proportionately, the rise in rent would have been checked. The farmer's profit was estimated at fifteen to twenty per cent, which is sufficient to account for the prosperity and popularity of farming. According to the figures given in the Hampshire Repository of

1798, in Crawley, out of a total area of 3,446 acres, 2,938 were under the plough, being sown on an average twice in four years. The remaining 508 acres were divided almost equally between down and woodland. There were about 1,200 sheep in the parish, and the farms let at rents of £200 to £300 per annum.

The fear of the projected French invasion in 1803 gave rise to a Volunteer movement, no less than 20,000 men being enrolled in Hampshire within a fortnight. Nor were the Crawley men wanting in patriotism, as many of them also joined the South-West Hants Militia under the lead of Captain Richard Meyler. The rank and file seem to have been in a haze as to the position of the seat of war, to judge from the conversation here recorded :—

“ Well, comrade, one good thing, wee beant to goo out of Urip.”

“ Doest know where these ’ere damned plaece Urip be ? ”

“ No, I doant. But I thinks as how ’tis yeither in the East Ingies or the back of North Americee ! ” *

Happily the local patriots were not called upon to confront the invader, and their most formidable encounters seem to have been of this nature : “ After devoting a short period to the service of Mars, the corps marched to Southampton. After a smart rencontre with that formidable opponent General Bacchus, they made good their retreat and reached their quarters the same night. Killed, 0 ; wounded, 0 ; missing, 0 ; top heavy, about 50.” † No local hero

* From the *Hampshire Chronicle*.

† *Ibid.*



RICHARD MEYLER (1791—1818) AT THE AGE OF 4 YEARS,

From a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds,

seems to have succumbed to the effects of small beer, though the soldier buried in Winchester was by no means the only victim. During the eighteenth century, each summer scarcely a week passed without the newspaper registering the death of some unwise individual, who, despite repeated warnings, perished through drinking small beer while hot. The cause of these fatal properties of small beer the writer cannot explain.

This was a period of patriotic speeches and rhymes, mostly devoid of wit and sense. Three lines of a popular song ran :—

“Just take a leg of mutton,
And when you've got un, cut un,
And you'll find the *bony part*.”

But the froth of popular ditties was occasionally dispelled by the effervescence of real alarm, when accident, or the hand of mischief, fired one of the many beacons that crowned the surrounding hills. Then, summoned from sleep by the glare and the multitudinous ringing of bells, “raw in the fields the rude militia swarmed,” only to find they were the victims of the practical joker, and to retire once more to bed with relief and amid laughter. Great was the joy of the country on the conclusion of peace, which was “duly celebrated at Crawley by Richard Meyler, Esq. Upwards of 200 of the poor of the parish sat down to a dinner of roast and boiled beef and plenty of strong beer. They were particularly gratified by the presence of John Ashton, Esq., and the Rev. Mr. Haygarth.* The evening concluded in the greatest harmony.” The

* The curate, afterwards rector of Upham.

village subscribed over £25 to the Waterloo Fund, apart from the donations of "the Great House" and Rookley.

After the Napoleonic wars the cost of living somewhat diminished, so that in 1822 we find the local magistrates, including the Rev. Edmund Poulter, the Hon. and Rev. George Augustus Legge, and George Lovell, Esq., resolving unanimously "that the maintenance of paupers and those poor people applying for relief shall not exceed the following allowances:—

"When the family shall consist of a man and his wife with one or two children, or of a woman with two or three children, to each of them the price of a gallon loaf and 4*d.* over per week.

"When the family shall consist of a man and his wife with three or four children, or of one parent and four or five children, to each of them the price of a gallon loaf and 3*d.* over.

"When the family shall consist of two parents and five or more children, to each the price of a gallon loaf and 2*d.* over.

"And whereas a practice has been prevalent amongst the labouring classes to absent themselves during a part of the year when their services are most required, and to return after the harvest and become a burthen to their respective parishes, the justices recommend to the officers of every parish when the family shall consist of a man and his wife, or a man with one child, to offer to each such man 4*s.* per week from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and 5*s.* a week from Lady Day to Michaelmas, so that he may be engaged to serve the whole year: and any man refusing such offer shall not be entitled to any relief.

"And the justices do declare that all maintained and relieved by their parishes and able to work, shall be compelled to perform such proper work as the parish officials shall direct, and if they neglect or refuse to perform the work found for them they will be punished as the law directs."

The punishments which the law directed were at this time appallingly severe, especially for violations of the sacred rights of property. Offences against morality and cases of assault were treated with comparative leniency. But the unhappy maid-servant who ran away from her situation was condemned to a year's imprisonment. Poachers were lucky if they did not receive a sentence five or six times as heavy. For the theft of a loaf of bread many were transported, and sheep stealers were hanged.* A local instance of this severity is to be found in the case of Robert Surby, who, having been discharged for misconduct, took his revenge by cutting down many of the shrubs and fruit trees in the grounds of Crawley House. This happened on a November night in 1825, but the offender was betrayed by the impressions of his boots in the soft soil. He was tried and sentenced to transportation for seven years! Far more severe were the sentences on those who took an active part in the disturbances of 1830. In that year there was widespread distress, the causes of which the unfortunate sufferers failed to understand. On November 21st the labourers of this and neighbouring parishes collected at Sutton Scotney and proceeded to Stratton, destroying every threshing machine on the way, but finally dispersed on a general promise of higher wages. A week later a large crowd assembled and proceeded to levy contributions in Stockbridge and King's Somborne. They then moved in force on Rookley, which was assailed by a mob of about four hundred. After

* Such punishments remained in force until after the accession of the late Queen Victoria.

obtaining money by force and menace from Mr. Lovell, many of them took possession of the house and carried off all provisions that came in their way, not forgetting to destroy the threshing machine. As a result of these and similar outrages, a troop of dragoons was sent to Sparsholt, and several companies of infantry were quartered in Stockbridge, to maintain order in the district. The ringleaders in these demonstrations received sentences of from twelve to twenty years' penal servitude. Some were condemned to transportation for life, and others even to death. Justice was rarely tempered with mercy on such occasions.

While the railway from London to Southampton was being built, Crawley suffered greatly from the depredations of the navvies, who were addicted to poaching. To check their operations, Mr. Bright's agent collected the Crawley forces early one Sunday morning and marched out in the direction of Wonston, where they came in conflict with the enemy. After a fierce struggle, victory crowned the banner of the villagers, who retired with sixteen prisoners, whom they succeeded in carrying off despite the repeated onslaughts of their defeated antagonists. The victory was pressed home by the imposition of varying terms of imprisonment.

The great battle of the Reform Bill left Crawley in the main unaffected. The full list of the Parliamentary voters at this period contains only twelve names :—

Laurence Turton Allee, of Rookley Farm.

Richard Bright, Esq., Crawley House.

George Godwin, farmer.

George Lovell, Esq. (sen.) }
George Lovell, Esq. (jun.) } Rookley house.

The Rev. George Morris (owner of Rookley Farm).

Thomas Pern, farmer.

George Read, farmer.

William Wade, of New Barn Farm.

Edward Twynam.

The Rev. Philip Jacob, M.A., Rector.

Thomas Paige, of Crates Farm.

In a copy of the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1840 a curious coincidence is thus recorded:—"There is a family living at Crawley consisting of three brothers and three sisters—the eldest a boy, the next a girl, and so on alternately. It is very remarkable that all were born on the 10th of October in their respective years."

No event of historical importance appears to have happened until the fire of 1880, which broke out in the woodyard of Mr. Hawkins' farm and destroyed a large part of the upper portion of the village. Fortunately it did not damage the valuable stud of Viscount Folkestone, who then lived at "the old Lodge," in the occupancy of which he was succeeded by Viscount Gormanstown, during the Irish troubles of the early Eighties. The loss of life was confined to 150 fowls. When the flames subsided sufficiently for them to be reached, several of the onlookers dashed in and began devouring their roasted bodies. Readers of Lamb's "dissertation on roast pig" will not be surprised to hear that there was another fire in the village a few weeks later. In 1884 Northwood House was built by Philip Van der Byl, Esq., M.P. for Portsmouth.

In the course of the centuries there has been little change in the daily round of rural life. The year offered the same unvaried scheme of toil in the reign of George III or of Victoria as when the third or eighth Henries were kings. The introduction of cricket, however, added a new form of amusement, and soon obtained great popularity. The earliest recorded match between Crawley and a foreign team took place on the 15th of July, 1816, when "in the penfolds eleven gentlemen of Crawley defeated the same number from Wherwell by 38 runs." A return match, later in the year, also resulted in the success of the home team on the West Down. These were the first of a long series of victories due largely to "the excellent bowling of Steele." But the event of the year was ever "the Harvest Home," often celebrated in the Tennis Court. As late as fifty years ago the last load was never removed from the fields without the chorus of :—

" Well ploughed, well sowed,
Well reaped, well mowed,
Nor a load o'erdrawed,
Hip, Hip, Hurrah !
Harvest Home !"

After the clearing a harvest supper was given by the local farmers. Amidst the harmony of the evening it was usual for all to join in a song of thanks to the masters in the following form :—

" Here's a health unto our masters,
The founders of the feast,
And when that they are dead and gone
Let's hope their souls may rest ;
We wish all things may prosper,
Whate'er they take in hand,

For we are all their servants
And serve at their command :
So, drink ! boys, drink !
And see that you do not spill,
For if you do,
You shall drink two,
'Tis by your masters' will."

The words, "you shall drink two," refer to the drinking a second cup as a fine in the event of any of the liquor being spilled in draining the first cup.

CHAPTER XI.

WORDS AND PLACES.

IN several names of places in the parish little bits of local history have been preserved. Such names are Norman Maiden Down, Mother Russell's Post, and the Archdeacon's Lamppost. "Mother Russell" kept a little shop in what is now the schoolhouse and committed suicide by jumping down the well behind the "Jolly Sportsman" inn. In accordance with the barbarous custom of the day, she was buried at the cross-roads with a stake driven through the body. This practice originated in an age of superstition, when it was supposed that the sacred symbol, formed by the intersection of the roads, would protect the body against demons,* while the stake would prevent the restless spirit roaming abroad in human semblance.

In a recent number of a popular magazine appeared a photograph of the Archdeacon's Lamppost entitled "the Murderer's Grave." But its presence is due to a simple and innocent cause, and not to a crime. The cross was put up by the late Archdeacon Jacob, to bear a lantern as a guide across the downs, he having on

* In former times witches were believed by the credulous to dance and disport themselves at the cross-roads.

one occasion missed his way and spent the night wandering about in cold and desolation.

Several of the field names are of interest. The "Sherte," an outlying pasture, was evidently so-called because it was cut off from the parish by a roadway, the name being derived from the Anglo-Saxon *sceran*, to cut. The "Butts" were doubtless used for practice in archery or musketry.* The "Vineyard," as its name implies, must have been devoted to the culture of the grape. This name occurs so frequently throughout the Southern portions of England as to suggest the possibility of a change in the climate of the country in recent centuries. Numerous fields bear the title of "Pightle." This is again a Saxon survival, the word meaning "a small meadow." "Bucket Close," on the boundary of the parish, is beyond doubt a corruption of "Back Gate" mentioned as one of the limits in the charter of Edward the Elder. Similarly "Dibdell" is a corruption of "Deep Dell." "Mainstone" is probably due to another boundary mark. "Devil's Row" and "Hall's Parlour" are obviously the inventions of a sportive fancy. "Morn's Field" was originally Moraunte's, frequently mentioned in the court-rolls. In the village, bearing witness to a now almost extinct form of sport, there was a "Cockpit," long since filled in. Such names as the Great Mead, the Sourlands, or the Penfolds need no explanation.

The old Hampshire dialect is rapidly disappearing

* The name was also given to the land on which the plough turned at the end of the furrow.

before the advance of general education. An attempt is here made to preserve, and explain, a few words, which are still in common use, but are destined ere long to vanish. Such are :—

Bargan, a yard, a small property, house and garden, small piece of land.

Bavin, a faggot.

Bennets, bent grass, tough seed-stems of grass.

Brashy, rough soil.

Buck, body of a cart or waggon.

Bungersome, clumsy.

Charlick, wild mustard.

Clavie-piece, chimney-piece.

Cow, cowl on a chimney.

Craw, crop of a bird.

Cubby hole, a snug place.

Dabster, a clever fellow.

Deedy, attentive.

Disremember, forget.

Dizend, dressed fine.

Dout, put out, as to "dout the light."

Drouth, or dryth, dryness, thirst.

Dubersome, doubtful.

Earth-nuts, tubers of *Ceananthe Pimpinelloides*.

Foreright, headstrong.

Fowsty, musty.

Gambril, a carpenter's spreader.

Gawney, simpleton.

God Almighty's "Colly Cow," a ladybird. The children used to chant a rhyme, which ran :—

"God A'mighty's colly cow,
Fly up to Heaven;
Carry up ten pound,
Bring down eleven."

Hacker, to stammer with rage.

Haulm, the stalks of potatoes : from the Saxon *healm*, straw.

Heft, to lift, try the weight of.

Hocksing, trespassing.

Keach, kech, to congeal, said of fat.

Kecker, windpipe of a bird.

Lavant, a land spring, breaking out in wet seasons.

Leasing, gleanings.

Lollop, to lounge in walking.

Lumper, to walk heavily.

Mammoth, to tear, as, "a cat mammothing a mouse."

Misbelieving = *mécroyant* = miscreant : a term of reproach.

Nash, or nesh, tender, feeling the cold.

Plim, to swell in boiling.

Putlug, horizontal pole for supporting the boards of a scaffold.

Quarries, diamond-shaped panes : French, *carré*.

Quilt, to swallow down.

Reremouse, a bat, from Saxon, *hréran*, to flutter.

Roke, to smoke.

Scroop, to creak.

Scrouge, to squeeze closely.

Scrumple, to crush.

Scug, a squirrel.

Shamocking, shambling.

Shock, a heap of corn.

Shute, a young hog.

Sliver, to cut off.

Somewhen, at some time.	Stabble, to make marks.
Spalt, to turn up.	Tallet, a hay loft.
Spit, the depth of a spade, <i>e.g.</i> , "two spits deep."	Teel, to lean.
Sprack, lively.	Wops, a wasp.
Squinny-guts, a fractious child.	Wosset, a small ill-favoured pig.
	Yaffel, a woodpecker.

This glossary makes no pretension to completeness, but most, if not all, of the words have come within the writer's cognizance in the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER XII.

“THE GREAT HOUSE” AND ITS OWNERS.

WITH the close of the fourteenth century, the old system of administering the manor by a steward was abandoned. Thence onward the farm of the manor and the manor house were leased for gradually increasing terms. Thus, in the year 1457, there is an entry in the court rolls of

£9 for farm of the manor demised to John Serle from Michaelmas in the thirty-first year (of King Henry VI) for twelve years, this being the fourth year. And the said John is to repair all straw-thatched roofs and walls and to maintain hedges and fences.

That the cost of other repairs was borne by the landlord is shown by the bill,—

Paid to Ralph Lystye, carpenter, for new-making four windows in the chamber of the manor called Hygh-chambre, and mending other defects above the door, 4 days at 5*d.* a day, 20*d.*; for 250 nails bought for the same, 12½*d.*; 2 new “twystes” and 2 iron “hokys” bought for the door of the chamber between the hall and the “celar” of the said manor, 10*d.*; 8 new “twystes” and 8 “hokys” of iron bought for the said windows, 2*s.* 4*d.*

Thirty years later the house and lands were demised

to John Cooper for twenty-one years. By the terms of the lease,

The farmer is to keep the straw-thatched houses of the said manor well thatched with straw, repair, wattle, and maintain the earthen walls thereof. The Bishop will see to the repair of the tiled roofs and stone walls. The said John Cooper will scour ditches, plant hedges, and re-deliver all stock in as good a condition as he received it; he shall have three acres of the lord's underwood, for haibote and firebote,* by view of the lord's servants, and one gown of the lord's wardrobe or 6s. 8d. at his choice; he shall find the lord's steward, overseer, and other servants, for holding the tourns and courts, for each tourn one quarter of oats for each so coming. He shall pay 13s. 4d. yearly to the lord's clerk for coming to attend at the court and writing the roll; he shall not charge the lord's pasture with more than 10 horses and plough-horses, 20 oxen, and 800 sheep yearly. Given at South Waltham, 24 March, 2 Henry VII.

The next occupant was Gilbert Cook, who was succeeded by Thomas Percey. They paid an annual rent of £6. 13s. 4d. for the farm of the manor, and £15. 13s. 4d. for the farm of the sheep. Their successor, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was John Holdwey, *alias* Edmondes, who, in 1588, subscribed the sum of £25 "towards defraying the expenses of the defence of the realm against the Spanish Armada." Early in the reign of James I, Edmondes made over his lease to Sir Gerard Fleetwood, retiring to Bossington House, and, subsequently, to Ireland.

Sir Gerard was the son of Sir William Fleetwood, of Aldwinkle, cupbearer to James I, and Comptroller of Woodstock Park. Thus descended from a courtier, it might be expected that in the Civil War he would favour the Royalists, although most of his family

* The termination "bote," from the Saxon verb meaning "to offer." *cf.* German *bieten*.

supported the Parliamentary cause. However this may be, his support of the King did not take a very active form. Nevertheless it was sufficient to bring him under the notice of the Committee of Sequestration as "a malignant in arms." Consequently, on the 22nd of February, 1646, Fleetwood wrote to the Committee, begging a moderate composition. In this petition he states that he resides in the County of Southampton, which was long under the King's forces, and was obliged to be a Commissioner of Array, and sometimes to go to Winchester, but "disliked the business and was never in arms." His lands, formerly worth £250 a year, have been "sequestered three years, and lie waste and in the King's power," so that he "has no maintenance, yet is willing to submit to a fine." As a result of this, in April a fine of £500 was imposed. We next find Sir Gerard, in the following July, begging an order as to a debt of £700, due to him from Robert Harward, which he had agreed to pay as the portion of his daughter, Elizabeth Fleetwood, married to Thomas, son of Sir Francis Dowse. Thereupon an additional fine of £70 was inflicted. Again in 1650 he "begs to compound, on his own discovery, for a debt of £400, omitted from his former particular, owing to him by Thomas Carew of Wycroft, Devon, and Sir John Baker, baronet, of Sissinghurst, Kent." This petition was refused, "the debt having been long since discovered at the Committee for Advance of Money." Sir Gerard returned to the charge, urging that there was not such a discovery made of the said £400 that the State could reap any benefit thereby within any Act or

Ordinance of Parliament. The effort, however, was ineffectual, and he was ordered to pay an additional fine of £66. 13s. 4d. Late in life Sir Gerard took as his second wife Isabel Neville. He was her third knight, she having been previously married to Sir John Harper and Sir Peter Freschville.

Shortly after the Restoration Sir Gerard died, and his estate passed by inheritance to his son Dutton Fleetwood. The new owner, after only four years' residence (1663-1667), sold the remainder of his lease for three lives to John Henley, Esq., of Henley, in Somersetshire. The latter, dying soon after, bequeathed the property to his sons Sir Andrew, and Sir Robert Henley, both baronets. Sir Robert, who eventually became sole possessor, was Master of the Court of King's Bench, which must have then been an extremely lucrative position, as from the profits of it he left to his family a landed estate of above £3,000 a year, part of which consisted of the ground rents of Lincoln Inn Fields. His third son inherited his Crawley property and his name of Robert. As Sir Robert Henley, Kt., he sat in the Parliament of 1679 for the borough of Andover, and by his wife, Barbara, daughter of Sir Edward Hungerford, he became the father of a numerous family, the eldest of whom was Anthony Henley, one of the most accomplished men of his day.

In 1694 Anthony Henley inherited his father's estates, together with a large fortune. As a wit and politician he enjoyed no small repute among his contemporaries. Educated at the University of Oxford,

he was a candidate for a demyship* at Magdalen College, when Dr. Thomas Goodwin was its president, during the Commonwealth, and he gave Addison an account, which was afterwards inserted in the *Spectator*, of his interview with that grim divine. He pretended that he had been so alarmed by the only question put to him, whether he was prepared for death, that he could not be induced to present himself again for examination. At Oxford he studied carefully the classical writers, especially the poets, and when he came to London, with a good income and an ample store of classical quotation, he was admitted to the friendship and society of the first wits of his time. The friend of Dorset and Sunderland, he was also the companion of Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, and Burnet. For some time he was devoted to pleasure, and, as his generosity to poor authors became known, he was fed with soft dedications. But after having recruited his resources with the sum of £30,000, through his marriage with Mary, daughter of the Honourable Peregrine Bertie (second son of Montagu, Earl of Lindsey), he plunged into politics. He was chosen M.P. for Andover in 1698, and sat for Weymouth from 1702 until his death. A member of the Kit Kat Club, Henley consistently adhered to the Whigs, and his opponents made strenuous but unsuccessful endeavours to displace him. Notwithstanding his political sympathies, he welcomed Swift to town, of which he said he would be "a beast for ever after the order of Melchisedec." He was contemplating an

* A scholarship. The name arose from the fact that the scholars received *half* the "commons," or allowances, of the Fellows.



ANTHONY HENLEY, ESQ.

M.P. for Weymouth.

important literary work, when he died of apoplexy in 1711.

During the minority of the son and heir of Anthony Henley, the estate was managed by John, Earl Poulett, his brother-in-law, who had married Bridget, another daughter of the Honourable Peregrine Bertie. John Poulett, fourth Baron and first Earl of that name, was born in 1663, and succeeded his father in 1680, but did not take his seat in the House of Peers until 1696, and then only under threat of committal for non-attendance. He then threw in his lot with the Tories, but was always a lukewarm politician. In 1706 he took part in negotiating the treaty of Union with Scotland and was created an Earl. From August, 1710, to May, 1711, he was nominally First Lord of the Treasury. Harley, however, was understood to preside behind the curtain. Poulett seldom spoke in Parliament. But on one occasion, in defending the Duke of Ormond against the charge of slackness in the field, he brutally taunted Marlborough with squandering the lives of his officers in order to fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions. At the close of the debate he received a challenge from Marlborough, and being unable to conceal his agitation from his wife, disclosed the cause. She communicated the circumstance to Lord Dartmouth, who prevented the meeting by placing Poulett under arrest. As the Earl did not show himself active in the interest of the House of Brunswick, he lost his place on the accession of George I. During this and the succeeding reign he lived the life of a country gentleman, but shortly before his death was rallied to the court party by the

gift of a lordship of the Bedchamber to his son. He is described by Macky as "of a mean figure and not handsome."

Anthony Henley II attained his majority in 1724, and speedily acquired a reputation for profligacy and extravagance. One of his many escapades was an elopement with the daughter of the Earl of Berkeley in 1728. Mrs. Delany thus records the adventure in her correspondence:—"Great news stirring; Lady Betty Berkeley, daughter to the Earl of that name, being almost fifteen, has thought it time to be married, and ran away last week with Mr. Henley, a man noted for his imprudence and immorality, but a good estate and a beau,—irresistible charms in these days." The year before, the young libertine had been elected M.P. for Southampton, and showed that he inherited his father's wit in a letter to his constituents, who wrote to him during the excitement about Walpole's Excise Bill, protesting against that unpopular measure. Their protest evoked this reply:—

Gentlemen, I Received yours and am Surprised att your Insolence in troubling me about the Excise, you know, what I very well know, that I Bought you.

And I know, what Perhaps you think I don't know, you are now selling yourselves to somebody Else.

And I know, what you don't know, that I am Buying another Borough.

May God's curse Light on you all.

And may your houses be as open and common to all Excise Officers as your wives and Daughters were to me when I stood for your Scoundrell Corporation.

Yours ANTHONY HENLEY.

Despite this thunderbolt, he was returned again in 1734, but was declared not duly elected, and John Conduit was seated in his place. In 1745, Anthony dying without issue, the paternal estates descended upon his brother Robert, afterwards Earl of Northington.

Robert Henley, the second of the three sons of Anthony Henley, the elder, was born about 1708, and educated at Westminster School and St. John's College, Oxford. In 1727 he was elected a Fellow of All Souls in that University. He commenced his professional career by entering the Inner Temple, and was called to the Bar in 1732. Eleven years later he married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Huband, Bart., of Ipsley in Warwickshire. Two years after his marriage, on the death of his brother, he inherited the family estates, which he found much encumbered, but the good management of a few years not only restored them, but greatly increased their value. The town house, which he acquired with them, was on the south side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and is now occupied by the College of Surgeons.

In 1747 Henley became Recorder of Bath, and represented that city during the whole time that he was a Member of the House of Commons, until his elevation to the Peerage in 1757. As a M.P. he was a frequent and active debater, and was a firm and consistent supporter of Frederick, Prince of Wales, whose party was designated by the appellation of Leicester House. By his adherence to this group during a period of great discouragement and extensive

defection, he acquired the lasting esteem of the Princess Dowager, and laid the foundation of the more brilliant part of his subsequent career. In 1755, having been previously knighted, Henley was appointed to the office of Attorney-General, vacated by Lord Mansfield's promotion. On the 30th of June, 1757, through ministerial changes, he was sworn into office as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. His new and elevated situation, however, brought with it no small degree of anxiety and difficulty, for he had the mortification of having to preside for nearly three years in the House of Lords as a commoner, while the office of directing that assembly when sitting in its judicial capacity devolved exclusively upon Lords Hardwicke and Mansfield, neither of whom regarded his elevation with favour.

Lord Hardwicke's strong, personal influence over George II, and the monarch's natural jealousy of Henley's connection with Leicester House would probably have excluded him from the peerage during the remainder of that reign. It was to the accident of Lord Ferrers' trial that he owed his immediate elevation to it, and by letters patent bearing date the 27th of March, 1760, was created Baron Henley. Horace Walpole, who appears to have disliked him cordially, and calls him "an old drunken uncle," comments on his want of dignity during the trial. "The judge and criminal," he observes, "were inferior, for the Lord High Steward neither had any dignity, nor affected any. Nay, he held it so cheap that he said at his own table t'other day, 'I will not send for Garrick to learn to act a part.' " It was again Lord Henley's lot to



ROBERT, 1ST EARL OF NORTHINGTON.

Lord Chancellor.

preside as Lord High Steward, in the year 1765, when Lord Byron was tried by his peers for killing Mr. Chaworth in a duel.

The accession of George III to the throne in 1760 made a material alteration in the Lord Keeper's fortunes and prospects. Having delivered up the Great Seal to His Majesty, he received it back with the title of Lord Chancellor. This was followed by a liberal extension of favour and patronage. On the 19th of May, 1764, he was created an Earl by the title of Earl of Northington and Viscount Henley, and on the 21st of the following August he was made Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire. Lord Northington continued to fill the station of Lord Chancellor during the three successive administrations of Lord Bute, the Duke of Bedford, and the Marquis of Rockingham. His health, however, had latterly become much impaired; his constitution was enfeebled by repeated attacks of gout, and he had frequently been incapacitated from performing the duties of his office. On the fall of the Rockingham Ministry in 1766, the desired retirement was provided on gratifying terms. He resigned the Great Seal, and was appointed to the easy post of President of the Council with a pension of £2,000 per annum, in addition to the salary of his office, and with a grant of an increase of that pension to £4,000 on his resignation. The reversion of the Hanaper * for two lives was also secured to him. His new station he retained for somewhat less than a year, for the gout soon rendered it impossible for him to

* The office was so-called because originally its records were kept in a "hanaper" or hamper.

perform the duties of the new situation. In the end of June, 1767, he declared to the King his resolution to resign, and from that time to his death, which happened on the 14th of January, 1772, he took no further part in public business.

In private life Northington was remarkable for his irascibility and for his profane and brutal manner of expressing himself on all occasions, qualities which procured for him the nickname of "Surly Bob." He was fond, too fond, of the pleasures of convivial society, being never sober after dinner. He asked the King's permission to abolish the Chancellor's evening sittings that he might have time to finish his bottle at leisure, which request His Majesty, on account of the excellence of the reason, most graciously accorded. "My Lord President," wrote Horace Walpole from Bath, "goes to the balls, but I believe had rather go to the alehouse." Towards his son he exhibited not only extreme coldness, but even the bitterest hostility, so much so, that on his deathbed he ordered his gardener to cut down some clumps of trees purely because they were agreeable to his son. His end was far from edifying. During his sickness, his wife, daughters, and some female relations, coming to inquire after his health, could not refrain from weeping, on which, in a passion, he roared out to his nurse, "Turn out all those — snivelling idiots, except Bridget!" In the course of the same illness he sent for the Marquis of Carnarvon, a man of great piety, who, though surprised at the message, waited upon him and begged to be honoured with his lordship's



ROBERT 2ND EARL OF NORTHINGTON, K.T.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

commands. "I sent for you," said the Earl, "to beg you to recommend me some able parson, whose advice I might safely take in regard to the necessary settlements respecting the future welfare of my soul, which, I fear, will be shortly ejected from my body." "My Lord," replied the Marquis, "I am surprised at the question; as Chancellor, your lordship has had the disposal of much Church preferment, which doubtless you have always bestowed on pious and deserving persons. For example, what think you of Dr. T——?" "Oh," exclaimed the ex-Chancellor, "that is one of my crying sins; I shall certainly be damned, were it only for making that fellow a Dean." True to his character, he died with a profane ejaculation on his lips. In his person he was above the middle height, handsome, and rather thin. Of his eight children, only one son and five daughters survived him.

Robert, second Earl of Northington, the said surviving son, was born January 3rd, 1747. Educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, he was elected at an early age M.P. for the County of Hampshire. He was created LL.D. of Cambridge, became Master of the Hanaper in 1771, and, two years later, was invested a Knight of the Thistle. Upon the formation of the Coalition Ministry, Northington, who was an intimate friend and companion of C. J. Fox, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In spite of his want of training he made a very fair Viceroy, doing his best to promote Irish manufactures and to encourage the growth of flax and tobacco. When the salary of the Lord Lieutenant was increased from

£16,000 to £20,000, the Earl honourably declared himself "perfectly satisfied, and anxious not to be the occasion of any additional charge on the Irish revenue." He resigned with the Coalition in 1784, and died in Paris on his way back from Italy, on the 5th of July, 1786, aged 39. He was never married, and the title therefore became extinct.* Unlike his father, the second Earl was "unwieldy in person, wanting in grace, and not brilliant, but he made himself beloved in Ireland in spite of his infirmities." "A decent, good sort of man," Horace Walpole calls him. That he inherited his father's lack of refinement is revealed in the ensuing anecdote. Lady Bridget Henley's second husband, the Honourable John Tollemache, having been killed in a duel with Mr. Pennington, afterwards Earl of Muncaster, her brother told her to be comforted, for Ranelagh would begin soon and then she might get another husband!

On the sale of the Northington estates the Crawley property was bought, by private contract, for £21,000 by Sir Willoughby Aston, sixth and last baronet of that name. With his wife, the Lady Jane Henley, daughter of the first Earl, he had resided in Crawley since 1780. In that year he contested the borough of Stockbridge against the two Luttrells, but was defeated by a majority of fifteen. This must have been a costly defeat, to judge from a contemporary letter, wherein the writer predicts that "Lord Irnham and Captain Luttrell will come in for Stockbridge at the

* The present Lord Northington is descended from the first Earl in the female line. The barony of Henley, in the peerage of Ireland, was revived by George III in 1799.

moderate price of £10,000, provided they are the last bidders." As a comment on the notorious corruption of this borough, it may be noted, in passing, that several years later, of an electorate barely exceeding one hundred, no less than eighty-four were proceeded against for bribery. Nor was it only in politics that Sir Willoughby lost money. "My nephew," writes Horace Walpole, "Lord Cholmondely, the banker *à la mode*, has been demolished. He and his associate, Sir Willoughby Aston, went early to Brooks's, t'other night, before Charles Fox and Fitzpatrick, who keep a bank there, were come; but they soon arrived, attacked their rivals, broke their bank, and won about four thousand pounds. 'There,' said Fox, 'so should all usurpers be served.'" In 1791 the estate was again sold to Richard Meyler, esquire, of Grove Place.

The new owner was the son of Jeremiah Meyler, who died at Lymington in 1792, after amassing a great fortune in the slave trade, then regarded as an honourable and useful vocation. He owned also large plantations in Jamaica, situated in the S.W. corner of the island between Carlisle Bay and the Black River, and still known as Meylersfield. This large fortune his son Richard spent royally on his property and friends. He was an active magistrate and a generous donor. The recipients of his bounty included the prisoners in gaol, who from time to time returned thanks in the newspaper for "Mr. Meyler's donation of five guineas for the purpose of purchasing meat." In 1798 he became High Sheriff of Hampshire. At the peace of Amiens, being dissatisfied with the management of his

West Indian property, he decided to visit it himself. After an absence of three years, during which he appears to have collected a large sum of money, he sailed for England in one of his own ships, the *Augustus Caesar*, without convoy, against the advice of his friends. On reaching London the Captain reported that almost immediately after embarking Mr. Meyler had been seized with fever, had died, and been buried at sea. In connection with this story there were two points that caused comment. Firstly, the fact that a person of Mr. Meyler's position should be buried at sea at all, instead of being brought home in a rum cask, as Lord Nelson was. Secondly, it was known that he had realised large sums in Jamaica, yet the amount delivered over was inconsiderable. Foul play was accordingly suspected, but nothing was ever proved, though the villagers to this day state as a matter of ascertained fact that he was "murdered at sea." He is also remembered as "the gentleman who took the common land from the poor," having under the Enclosure Act of 1794 secured large tracts adjoining "the Warren" and extending over to Wonston. Among other alterations and additions to the house he built the Tennis Court for the delectation of the Prince of Wales and his brother the Duke of Gloucester, into whose circle he was brought by his brother-in-law. Richard Meyler had married in 1790 Ann Jarrett, the twin daughter of another planter, John Jarrett, of Freemantle, and of Golden Grove, Jamaica. She was only nineteen years of age, and died in the following year in giving birth to her only child, Richard. Her father was a friend of the poet Cowper, and an intimate

acquaintance of the Prince of Wales, whom he entertained lavishly. On a certain occasion, when the Prince was dining with him, the entertainment was of such a sumptuous character, that His Royal Highness remarked across the table to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was present, "Don't you think you might raise the sugar duties?" The second of the twin sisters, Mary Noble Jarrett, married John Ashton, Esquire, of the Grange, Cheshire, a friend of the Duke of Gloucester. The sisters were so alike that, when at school in London, one of them had to wear a coloured bow as a distinguishing mark.

The heir to the property, Richard Meyler the younger, being a boy of only twelve years of age, on his father's death, was left to the guardianship of his uncles, John Ashton, John Jarrett, and Herbert Newton Jarrett, who, in that capacity, conducted the estate. During the minority of the heir the house was occupied by the Ashtons. John Ashton died in 1814, his son, Captain Ashton, being killed the year after at the battle of Waterloo. His daughter Frederica married the Hon. and Rev. Frederick Baring, M.A., third son of the first Lord Ashburton.

Young "Dick" Meyler was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and, on leaving the University, in 1812, celebrated his majority by standing as a Parliamentary candidate for the city of Winchester. Supported by the Mayor and Aldermen, he was successful in this venture, the result of the poll being :

Sir Henry Mildmay (senior sitting Member)...	79
Richard Meyler, Esq.	56
Henry Baring, Esq.	33

This election cost him over £25,000, and he signalised his victory by large gifts to the poor of Crawley and Wonston. He was of a very sociable disposition, an enthusiastic foxhunter, and kept a fine stud of horses. Once, when dining in company with the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV, the Prince praised in extravagant terms the proportions of the room in which the guests were assembled. Whereupon Mr. Meyler said "If I build a room like this, will your Highness do me the honour of dining with me?" "I will," replied the Prince. The room was built at Crawley. It was supported by pillars, and the windows looked towards the church tower. Whether the Prince was equally faithful to his word is not certainly known, but it is more than probable. On a certain occasion, while on his way to Crawley, Mr. Meyler was "held up" by a highwayman on Bagshot Heath, and robbed of all the valuables he had about him, including his father's watch. Setting great store by this heirloom, he offered the robber a sum of money in place of the watch if he would give an address, explaining that the watch was a family relic. The man bowed, gave an address, and returned the watch, for which he received the money in due course.

Meyler's political career was short, for on March 3rd, 1818, he died while hunting in Leicestershire, apparently from a fit of apoplexy, as he was found lying near a gate, which he had been trying to open with his hunting crop. His funeral, which is still a tradition in the village, is thus described in the *Hampshire Chronicle*:—"The remains of our late

respected and deservedly lamented representative arrived in the city on Wednesday, and were deposited in the White Hart inn, preparatory to interment in the family vault at Crawley. On Thursday, about 12.0, the procession began to move. The hearse was drawn by six horses and followed by five mourning coaches and four, in which were some intimate friends and the aldermen of the city. The procession was headed by a long cavalcade of tradesmen on horseback, while many carriages brought up the rear, among them being those of Lady Mildmay, Paulett St. John Mildmay, Esq., G. Ricketts, Esq., Hart Davis, Esq., M.P. for Bristol; the Chancellor of the Diocese, etc. Others joined the procession on the road, and the whole reached Crawley about two p.m., where the body was consigned to the silent tomb amid the most sincere and unequivocal expression of sorrow of all present, especially the neighbouring tenantry and the poor, who, by this afflicting calamity, had been suddenly deprived of a kind benefactor and good landlord." He left enduring monuments in the belts of trees which he planted and in the road that runs past the Warren. It was intended to be carried across the downs, but it was only finished as far as the Andover Road at the time of his death, when the work was abandoned. His will caused much trouble and litigation, as it had been signed by only two witnesses, whereas real estate then required the signatures of three. In consequence of this omission the land went to the heir-at-law, Richard Bright, while the personalty fell to the Ashtons, whose annoyance was such that they scooped up and carried off the very gravel of the drives. Richard Meyler is

said to have enjoyed an income exceeding £20,000 a year.

Richard Bright owed his succession to the circumstance that he was descended from a collateral branch of the Meyler family, his father, Henry Bright, having married Sarah, daughter of Richard Meyler of Bristol, and grand-daughter of Richard Meyler of Haverfordwest. Of this union Richard was the only surviving child, and was born about 1754. He married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Heywood, Esq., of Liverpool, by whom he had a family of five sons and three daughters. With his advent the great days of Crawley House came to an end. Already in 1828 the Winchester folk spoke with regret of "those visions of the past . . . when the ancient mansions of Spars-holt and Crawley (only known to the present day by the lordly timber and park-like sward which denote their former glory) resounded to the wheels of the gay curricule and were enlivened by the festive hospitality of their owners." For Richard Bright rarely visited Crawley, and stopped there only a few weeks to collect his rents. He kept no company, and lived, with one man, in two or three rooms. Apparently a confirmed misogynist, "he would go a mile out of his way rather than meet a woman," and never passed along the village street. His great nephew, Professor Bright, Master of University College, Oxford, says that "he was a very polished and refined old gentleman and a keen geologist," perpetually tramping about collecting specimens and fossils. Always dressed with extreme shabbiness, he was arrested in his own garden as a suspicious character by a zealous member of the then

newly-established police force. During his possession of the property no repairs were executed, and the fine old house was allowed to go utterly to ruin. When the ceiling fell in one room he moved to the next, and, on the staircase becoming unsafe, he retired to his bedroom by a ladder !

On the death of Richard Bright the property passed to his eldest son Henry, sometime M.P. for Bristol, who died in 1869, when it was sold to Lord Ashburton. The new owner kept the estate only five years, during which he felled much of the timber and stripped the Tennis Court of its stone. In 1874 Lord Ashburton disposed of the house and lands by selling them to Mr. A. Kennard. The old mansion, which Sir Gerard Fleetwood had built and the Henleys and Meylers had altered and enlarged, was now in an almost ruinous condition. It was accordingly pulled down, and the present Elizabetho-Jacobean house was built, on a new site, from the plans of Pepys Cockerill, "the most scholarly designer of the century." The old house stood in the hollow between the Tennis Court and the Church, and was a structure of brick, faced with stone, containing several fine rooms. The Tennis Court was restored in 1877, and in it has been played a match between those two great champions of the game, the late Colonial Secretary, the Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, and the present Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey. In 1900 the property passed into the hands of the present owner.

CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

No sketch of mediæval conditions would be complete without some reference to the religious life of the people. For, as the Church was from the earliest times the centre of the parish, and the priest the head of his flock and the chief person (parson) of the district, it is natural to look to the Church for the first indications of parochial life. From the cradle to the grave, through the clergy, religion extended its care to every soul, and exerted its influence over man, woman, and child by means of the services and sacraments of the Church. The first point which requires notice is the daily Mass. Archbishop Cranmer bore witness to the general devotion of the people to their morning Mass, when he represented them as saying "This day have I seen my Maker, and I cannot be quiet unless I see my Maker once a day." The Mass was regarded as "the highest prayer that Holy Church can devise for the salvation of the quick and the dead," and it may be taken as certain that this daily service was fairly attended by those whose duties permitted them to be present. The *Young Children's Book*, of 1500, takes for granted that those to whom it is addressed will go to their morning Mass:—

Aryse be tyme oute of thi bedde,
 And blysse thi brest and thi forhede.
 Then wasche thi handes and thi face,
 Keme thi hede, and aske God grace
 The to helpe in all thi werkes ;
 Thou schal spede better what so thou confes,
 Then go to ye chyrche and here a masse.

For those working in the fields, who could not be present at the service, a bell, known as the Sanctus bell, was rung. It was intended to give notice to those within reach of its sound of the most solemn moments of the Mass, such as the Consecration and the Elevation of the Host. Besides attendance at this early Mass, there is little evidence of any other daily use of the Church.

On Sundays and holy days the office of Matins was attended by the bulk of the people before breakfast. Later came the High Mass, preceded by the public and solemn blessing of the holy water. For this ceremony the celebrant of the Mass came to the entrance of the chancel, accompanied by the servers carrying the platter of salt, the manual, and vat of water to be blessed. After the blessing the priest went to the foot of the altar and sprinkled it with the water. Next turning, he sprinkled the assistants, and then passed down the church, casting the water upon the minor altars and upon the people assembled in the nave. Usually there followed a procession, headed by the processional cross and choristers bearing candles and incense. When the weather permitted, the procession wended its way outside and passed along the graves, while the living offered their prayers for the dead and

cast the holy water on their tombs. On returning to the church the Mass was sung, with a profusion of candles burning on the altar. At the end of the service the holy loaf was brought into the chancel, and after being blessed by the priest, was broken into small pieces, which were distributed to the people. All came up to the chancel steps to receive the morsel from the celebrant, whose hands they kissed. The remainder of the Sunday, with the exception of the time spent in Vespers, was devoted to rest and recreation. For the priest Sunday was the day when by law he had to visit the aged, infirm, and sick in the parish. At eight or nine o'clock the Angelus bell was rung. This probably grew out of the Curfew, which was originally a civil notification to extinguish all lights, but in the thirteenth century was turned into a universal religious ceremony in honour of the Virgin Mary.

The round of Church festivals was followed with a lively interest, and their sequence from Advent to Advent was designed to bring before the minds of the parishioners "the great drama of the Redemption." Christmas was often marked by a small religious play, which survived for many centuries in the form of "the mummers." The coming of the kings on the Epiphany was also a subject lending itself to picturesque illustration, which never failed to delight the simple-minded parish audience of pre-Reformation days. On the feast of the Holy Innocents a ceremony was observed which may seem strange and somewhat profane to our notions, but which our forefathers loved well. It was the festival of the boy-bishop attended

by his youthful ministers. The boys of the village met together on the eve of the feast and chose of their number a "St. Nicholas and his clerks." They then sang the first vespers of the Saint, and in the evening walked round the parish, making a collection for their feast. Often the boy-bishop preached a sermon in the church preceded by a general travesty of religious ceremony. Still there seems to have been no conscious irreverence in this "playing at church."

On February 2nd the feast of the Purification, known as Candlemas Day, was kept. On this day the parishioners assembled in the church for the blessing of the candles, and for a procession of lighted tapers in memory of the Presentation in the Temple. On Ash Wednesday, before the celebration of Mass, ashes were blessed, and all the congregation came and knelt before the priest to have them strewn upon their heads, whilst the words reminded them that they "were dust, and unto dust they would return. With Ash Wednesday began the strict fast of Lent, which had to be kept on all days except Sundays, and even then no meat was permitted. On week-days the fast was not allowed to be broken until after the services of the church, that is to say, until noon. From the evening before the first Sunday in Lent till the Thursday before Easter, what was known as the Lenten veil hung down between the chancel and the nave. It was made of white stuff, or linen, and hid the sanctuary from the people, except at the reading of the Gospel, when it was drawn aside. Upon the first Monday in Lent until the eve of Easter all crucifixes and images were covered with white cloth.

The dramatic ceremonies of Holy Week began with those of Palm Sunday. From the earliest times it was the custom that the priest should bless palm twigs and give them to the people. The so-called "palms" were probably willow, box, and yew. In fact, one authority of the sixteenth century states that the yew trees, so common in the churchyards, were planted to furnish palm branches on this occasion.* A procession was formed and moved to the churchyard cross, where all knelt and worshipped. From the cross they went to the closed door of the church for the singing of the "Gloria, laus," in joyous imitation of the hymns of the Jews, sung on that day when bringing the Messiah to Jerusalem. When this part of the ceremony was ended, the church doors flew open, and the priest who bore the shrine with the Sacrament held his sacred burden aloft in the doorway, so that all who went in had to go under the shrine. In this way the procession returned to the church, each one bowing his head in token of reverence and obedience as he passed beneath the Sacrament. The curtain, which throughout Lent had screened the figure of the crucified Saviour, was now drawn aside. At the sight of the crucifix all, priest and people, knelt and saluted it thrice with the words, "Ave, rex noster, fili David, redemptor."

The next great day in the week was Maundy, or Sheer, Thursday, which derived its first name from the Maundy, or washing of the feet of thirteen poor

* It is also suggested that the yews were originally planted to furnish wood for bows. Hence the term "yeoman." The yew is also said to have been cherished as a funereal tree by the Kelts.

people. Its other name arose because on that day "a man shall dodun his heres and clypponde his berde, and a prest shall schave his crowne so that there schal nothyng bene betwene God Almyghty and hym." * On this day also the sacrament and the cross were put into the Easter sepulchre beneath the altar, which was stripped. On Good Friday the chief feature in the morning service was undoubtedly "The adoration of the Cross," and the ceremonial kissing of it known as the "creeping of the Cross." The Church forbade all servile work on this day, which was to be spent "in reading, silence, prayer, and fasting, with tearful sorrow." The service on Holy Saturday began at a late hour, as it was the office of the Vigil. The first act in this long office was the blessing of the new fire, previously struck by a steel out of flint. After a candle had been lit at this, a procession was formed outside, where the first part of the ceremony was held, and moved into the church for the blessing of the Paschal candle with the five glorified grains of incense as a symbol of the five sacred wounds. The Paschal was apparently a tall, thick piece of wood, painted to represent a candle, resting in the socket of the candlestick, and bearing on the top a real candle. For some reason the wooden part was called the "Judas of the Paschal," presumably because it was false. On this day also the font was hallowed with impressive and symbolic ceremonies.

Early in the morning of Easter, at the first streak

* A man shall cut his hair and clip his beard, and a priest shall shave his crown, so that there shall nothing be between God Almighty and him.

of dawn, the people hastened to church, to be present when the sacrament and crucifix were brought from the sepulchre to the usual place over the altar. Langland gives a sketch of an Easter morning in England, as he knew it in the fourteenth century.

Men rang to ye resurrection and with that ich awakede
And kallyd Kytte my wyf, and Kalote my daughter,
Aryse and go reverence, Godes resurrection
And creep on knees to he cryos and cusse hit, for
And ryghtfullokest a relyk. Non riccher juwel on erthe,
For Godes blesside body hit bar for oure bote
And hit afereth ye feonde for such is ye myghte
May no grysliche gost glyde ther hit shadeweth.

The rest of the Christian year, with its round of feasts, does not here require to be specially noted. Each of the many Saints' days was kept, more or less, as a holiday, and the celebration of one differed from that of another merely in the degree of splendour with which the people decked their church. In conclusion, however, mention must be made of the Hock-day and the church-ale. The former was a feast celebrated in this part of the country in memory of the massacre of the Danes in 1002. The second Monday and Tuesday after Easter were the Hocktyde days, on which, with some sportive traditions, money was collected for parish purposes. According to an early custom women seized and bound men and then demanded a small sum for their release. Later, on this being forbidden, recourse was had to stopping roadways with ropes and demanding toll from men who passed. The church-ale was a parish meeting, at which cakes and small beer were purchased from the churchwardens and con-

sumed for the good of the parish. The drink itself was apparently a sweet beverage flavoured with bitter herbs, less heavy than modern beer and hardly an intoxicant. This institution, involving the purchase of goods at prices highly in excess of their market value, seems to have been the progenitor of the modern church bazaar.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CHURCH.

THE site of the present edifice has certainly been occupied by a church for more than one thousand years. The earliest Saxon building would be of timber, with no pretensions to be considered architectural. It was doubtless oblong in shape and constructed of huge trees morticed at the four corners, with logs between, filled in or caulked with tow or other materials. This structure possibly perished in the Danish invasion. At any rate it, or its successor, was eventually superseded by a Norman fabric, built, partially or entirely, of stone. For, when the chancel was restored in 1887, vestiges of a Norman church were discovered, and fragments were worked into the new building. The pillars which support the chancel arch are Norman, and there are portions of the ancient zig-zag ornamentation in the curve of the arch. Late in the fourteenth century a new church was erected in the Early English style. This was perhaps due to the exertions and support of the Bishop, William of Wykeham, who was an energetic builder of churches in the diocese. He certainly visited the parish at that time, as a collation to the rectory of Wonsyngestone *

* The present Wonston.

is dated from Crawley in the year 1386, and in his will he bequeathed to the church a chalice and one cope, to be chosen by his executors from those used in his chapel. William of Waynflete was also a benefactor of the church.

The present Church of St. Mary is a fairly ancient structure of flint and rubble, and consists of chancel, nave, porch and a tower containing five bells. Of these the chancel is the most modern, for in 1887 the old Early English structure, being in an absolutely ruinous condition, was pulled down and rebuilt by the Rector (the Rev. H. M. Mee) and his relatives. At the same time an organ chamber was added, the organ being the gift of Adam Kennard, Esq. A brass tablet, in a niche to the left of the altar, commemorates the restoration in the following terms:—"To the glory of God and in the memory of the Rev. John Mee, M.A., sometime Dean of Grahamstown in South Africa, and late Rector of Westbourne, in the county of Sussex, this chancel was rebuilt and the adjoining organ chamber was added to it by his sons and daughters-in-law." Over the altar is a fine stained East window, given, in the same year, "to the memory of Philip Jacob, for fifty-three years Father and Friend to all in the Parish, by those who love and mourn him." To the right of the altar is an ancient brass in memory of Michael Renniger, rector, thus inscribed:—

Anno Dñi 1609, xxvi die Augusti.

Heere lyeth buried the bodyes of Michaell Reñiger, Doctor of Divinitye, Archdeacon of Winchester and Parson of Crawlye, and of John his Soñe. Which Michaell Reñiger departed this life y^e day and year above written : anno aetatis suae lxxix.

Vir pius ac doctus, verae qui religionis
 Strenuus assertor (spretis quae chara putantur.
 Et patria, atque opibus, dulci quoque conjugē) pulsus
 Exul in Helvetiam migravit, et inde reversus,
 Reginae a sacris, Rector fuit istius aedis,
 Atque decem lustris, anno, et plus, praefuit illi :
 Atque diu vigilans, verbo exemploque refecit
 Pastor oves Christi. Sera jam morte solutus
 Spiritus alta petit, tegiturque hoc marmore corpus.*

There is a tablet over the door of the organ chamber in memory of the Rev. Henry Thomas Dampier, who is buried beneath. In the floor of the chancel are four diamond-shaped stones, marking graves below, inscribed respectively E.T. 1727; S.H. 1740; W.T. 1745; E.T. 1747. Three inches under the present floor of the chancel are the real gravestones, bearing the following inscriptions :—

i. In memory of Elizabeth, late wife of Mr. Walter Turner, who died Jan. 20th, 1727, aged 63 years; also of Sarah, late wife of Mr. Henry Heyton, daughter of the above Walter and Elizabeth Turner, who died May 3, 1740, aged 42 years.

ii. In memory of Mr. Walter Turner, of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields in the county of Middlesex, Laceman, who was born in this parish, and dyed Feb. 7, 1745, aged 78.

iii. In memory of Elizabeth Turner, wife of Mr. Walter Turner, who dyed Sept. 26, 1747, aged 59.

* A pious and learned man, who as a strenuous assertor of the true religion (despising all that is considered dear, both country, and wealth, and dear wife) was driven into exile and migrated to Switzerland. Thence returning from the chapel of the Queen he was called to be Rector of this Church, and for over fifty-one years had charge thereof. And as an ever vigilant shepherd by word and example brought back the sheep to the fold of Christ. Freed by late death, his spirit now seeks the heavens, and his body is covered by this tomb.

Immediately at the entrance of the chancel, towards the right, are buried :—“ Henry Taylor, A.M., Rector of this Parish, Vicar of Portsmouth, who died April 27 : 1785, aged 74, and also Christian, his wife, daughter of Francis Fox, A.M., Vicar of St. Mary’s in Reading, who died July 23, 1769, aged 53.” In the centre of the chancel, in line with the former, there is a stone “ In memory of Robert Wiseman, Clerk, A.M., Rector of this parish and Hunton 52 years, who died January 14 : 1755, aged 81 ; also of Dulcibella, wife of Robert Wiseman, who dyed May 20 : 1760, aged 75.” To the left of this lie “ Henry Longland, Esq., late of Kirby Street, London, who dyed March 1, 1775, aged 60, and Mary his wife, daughter of the late Rev. Robert Wiseman and Dulcibella his wife, who dyed October 1, 1785, aged 74.” Directly East of the hagioscope, hard by the organ, is the family vault of the Meylers, marked by a stone with the following names and dates :—

Ann Meyler	-	-	-	Sept., 1791.
John Jarrett	-	-	-	Sept., 1809.
Mary Jarrett	-	-	-	March, 1811.
Herbert Newton Jarrett	-			Oct., 1811.
John Ashton	-	-	-	Dec., 1814.
Richard Meyler	-	-	-	March, 1818.

In the register of Millbrook, Southampton, the burial of “ Ann Meyler, wife of Richard Meyler, Esq.,” is entered under date of September 1 : 1791, “ afterwards carried to Crawley, Stockbridge.” In memory of two of the above there are tablets in the organ chamber. The first is inscribed :—

In memory
of
John Ashton, Esq.
late of Grange, Cheshire.
He died Nov^{br} 10th, 1814,
Aged 49 years.

Ashton, by stedfast probity endeared !
For many virtues be thy tomb revered !
Thy children, bending o'er this sacred earth,
May learn to emulate their Father's worth.

The second marble tablet, by Westmacott, states that, "in a vault underneath, are deposited the remains of John Jarrett, Esq., late of Freemantle, near Southampton, who died September 21st, 1809, aged 63. And likewise of Herbert Newton Jarrett, Esq., son of the above, late of Grove Place in this county, who died at the island of Madeira (to which place he had gone for the recovery of his health), August 13th, 1811, aged 34 years. To their justly endeared memory this monument is erected by their surviving and deeply afflicted widows." In the organ chamber there is also a fine old oak Jacobean altar chest, formerly used as Communion Table.

In the squint on the north side of the chancel arch and in the sill of the opening is a flat round basin, with a drain, for a piscina, showing that there was a small altar there, westward of the arch, which was very customary, even though the moderate size of the church does not seem to require it. Probably, therefore, on the site of the present "Court pews" there stood, prior to the Reformation, an altar to the Virgin. Hence the hagioscope, which, it has been conjectured,

was designed to enable the priest at the side altar to take part in the service of the Mass. It is supposed that, when the Eucharist was administered to large congregations, the bread or wafers, which had been consecrated at the high altar, were first divided into portions and carried to each of the small altars, and from them distributed to the communicants, by which means a large number were able to communicate simultaneously. There can be little doubt that its purpose was to allow persons in that part of the church to witness the elevation of the host, and to see the figures of the saints in the chancel.

The body of the church is probably very late, perhaps as late as the reign of Elizabeth, though portions of the walls possibly date from the fourteenth century. This is suggested by the corbels of the windows, which are well individualised heads, including those of a king, a queen, and a bishop. Some authorities have professed to discover portraits among them. That of the king, indeed, bears some vague resemblance to Edward III, but it is safer to assume that this is accidental. The nave is built on the model of a barn, its principal characteristic being the heavy wooden pillars, which have led some to conclude that it is "a Saxon wooden church." Only one other church in the county—that of Old Alresford—possesses similar wooden pillars. Early in the eighteenth century the nave was ceiled and the pillars were covered with plaster to imitate stone. The plaster was removed and the church restored to its original condition when the building was renovated in 1870. The upper portion of the tower was rebuilt

and the bells rehung in 1901, thanks to the exertions of the present Rector.

Outside of the church is a typical country graveyard with thick-set tomb stones, covered with moss and overgrown with ivy. Several of them are marked by epitaphs, among which may be mentioned that on the double headstone, in memory of George and Jane Godwin, who died in 1802 and 1803 respectively. It takes the following form :—

They had their faults, they had their virtues too.
Where is the man? O reader, point out where,
Where lives the man who has not to his share
Too many faults and even too much sin?
Inspect thyself and mark how 'tis within.
Then note no other's faults, thy own amend;
This do thou with thyself, and them befriend.

Quite other is the epitaph that graces the tomb of John Bowns, who died March 20th, 1836, aged 76. It quaintly states that :—

The world's a city with many a crooked street.
Death is the market place where mankind must meet.
If life was merchandise that any one might buy,
The rich alone would live, and all the poor must die.

It has been asserted that all cobblers are cynics and malcontents. Now John Bowns was a shoemaker, who worked in the village for over fifty years. Unfortunately his striking epitaph cannot be claimed as original, for it exists in many parts of the country, at Hatfield, Elgin, and Twyford, where it appears with these two additional lines :—

But God has ordered all things so,
The rich as well as the poor must go.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RECTORS.

THE Rectory of Crawley having been always, as it is to-day, "one of the best livings in the diocese," it is not surprising to find that it has frequently been held by able and eminent men. From the period of the Saxon kings the chapelry of Hunton has been attached to the living, and though it has often been served by a curate, his stipend has invariably been paid by the Rector of Crawley, who was responsible for his appointment.

The earliest estimate of the value of the living is found in the "Taxation of Pope Nicholas the Fourth." This record is a valuation of ecclesiastical benefices made by order of Edward I and completed about 1291. Three years before, the Pope, from whom the valuation takes its name, had granted all the tenths due from the clergy to the king for six years, in order to defray the expenses of an expedition to the Holy Land. Accordingly a survey was begun by royal precept, that the said tenths might be collected to their full value. Until the inquisition made in the 26th year of Henry VIII this taxation regulated the amount of the taxes due both to the King and the Pope. In this survey "the church of Crawelye, cum capella," is

assessed at thirty marks (£20), being subject therefore to a tithe of forty shillings. That it was a "good living" may be ascertained from a few contemporary facts. In 1299 the salary of a judge of the Court of King's Bench was only £20 per annum, that of the Lord Chief Justice being fifty marks, while a chief Baron of the Exchequer received £40. A few years later an allowance of twenty shillings a week was made to the Queen of Scotland, then a prisoner in England. It may therefore safely be assumed that the then Rector of Crawley was amply endowed with this world's goods, especially when it is remembered that in those days he had neither wife nor children to support.

A more detailed account of the rectory's endowments can be obtained from the record of the "Inquisition of the Ninths," made in the 14th year of Edward III (1341), for the purpose of assessing a subsidy granted to the King by Convocation in aid of the expenses of the Scotch and French wars. The subsidy consisted of a ninth of the corn, wool, and lambs, belonging to the clergy in each parish. The inquisition, taken on the oath of four parishioners, specifies the value of the benefice, comparing it with the valuation of Pope Nicholas in 1291, and states the causes of its falling short thereof in the following terms:—

Nicholas Kirkeby, John atte Hall, Robert Mardy, Gilbert Davy, being sworn upon their oath, say that the ninth of the sheaves, fleeces and lambs of the aforesaid parish of Craule was worth in the last year, to wit the fourteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid lord king, ten pounds, and say that the ninth aforesaid could not amount to the tax of the church aforesaid in the aforesaid year for this that the said church is endowed

of a messuage with curtilage and dovecote, 20 acres of land, pasture for one bull, six cows, one ram, one hundred sheep, two ploughhorses and thirteen swine, which are worth by the year 55*s.* 8*d.*, and say that the tithe of hay and other small tithes, together with the oblations and mortuaries of the same church, are worth by the year 102*s.* 8*d.* They say also that three carucates of land near Somburne and Netherdene lay untilled in the aforesaid year and for six years previous thereto, whereof the ninth of the sheaves, fleeces and lambs was wont to be worth four pounds by the year, and in the said fourteenth year nothing could be raised therefrom.

The valuation made in the time of Henry VIII (1535), after the Reformation, is known as the "King's Book" or "Valor Ecclesiasticus." It contains an abstract of the returns made by the commissioners detailing the particular sources of income, as well as specifying each separate sum. Unfortunately the returns for the diocese of Winchester are lost, and consequently only the brief abstract made from them can be given, which simply records that the "Rectory of Crawley (Walter Piers now Rector) is worth in the farm of the land, called glebeland, tithes, oblations, and other casualties, £36; deductions in charges, 6*s.* 8*d.*; net value, £35. 13*s.* 4*d.*; whereof the tithe is £3. 11*s.* 4*d.*" The comparative value of this income may be judged from contemporary prices and wages. In the year 1534 the price of beef was $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and of mutton $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* per lb.; wheat was 5*s.* 11*d.* a quarter, and eggs sold at about 5*d.* per 100. The wages of a skilled artisan were 6*d.*; of a peasant labourer, 4*d.* a day, while the annual salary of a farm bailiff was about thirty-two shillings, and the income of a substantial yeoman ranged from £7 to £10 per

annum. Manufactured articles, such as cloth and shirting, were relatively dear. Still, when all conditions are considered, it is impossible to doubt that the value of the living was higher than it is to-day, though possibly less than it was at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1799 the value of the tithe of Crawley alone was set at £445. During the early years of the nineteenth century the average net annual value of the living exceeded £700, which, as a result of the great fall in the price of corn, has since declined. In 1840 the tithe was commuted for £657. 10s. In the diocese of Winchester, among rural parishes, the rectory of Crawley is surpassed only by that of Wonston. The glebeland is slightly over nine acres in extent, and a large garden containing a chestnut avenue surrounds the house, which was rebuilt and enlarged in 1832. A portion of the ancient Rectory, dating from the 16th century, still exists, and the kitchen possesses a fine old polished oak ceiling.

The first rector, of whom there is record, is Master *Ponce de Turnemyre*, acolyte, who was instituted by Bishop John de Stratforde in 1324, on the presentation of King Edward II, the church being in his gift by reason of the late vacancy of the bishopric. Master Poncius de Turnemyre was apparently a dependent of one of the King's numerous Poitevin and Gascon favourites, probably a *protégé* of Hugh Despenser, who held land in the parish. He was rector little more than four years, for in 1328 the same bishop collated Sir * *William de Derham*, priest, to the vacant church

* In the middle ages the title "Sir" was prefixed to the names of priests who had not taken a Master's degree at a University.

of Craule. Twelve years later he was succeeded by *William Joce*, sub-deacon, who fell a victim to the great pestilence of 1349. In that year Master *John of Ware* became rector, and, on his collation to the rectory of Wonston, in 1361, gave place to *Walter Skyllynge*, priest.

Sir *Nicholas de Kyngestone* seems to have been the next rector, but the date of his collation is unknown. He appears to have enjoyed the confidence of Bishop William of Wykeham, who frequently nominated him for positions of trust and responsibility. He died in 1382, and was followed by Sir *Richard Clifford*, priest, who remained only two years, for in 1384 he exchanged with Sir *William Hurrelle*, the rector of Winterbourne Earls, Wiltshire, and removed to the diocese of Salisbury, of which church he became a canon in the following year. He is said to have been the grandson of Thomas de Clifford, younger son of Robert de Clifford, third baron of Westmoreland. It is, however, possible that he was the son of Sir Lewis Clifford, a baron of the Exchequer. Apparently a favourite of Richard II, he was named first clerical executor of that king's will. In 1385 he was Canon of St. Stephen's Chapel Royal, Westminster. When the lords appellant impeached Sir Simon Burley, Clifford found himself involved in the same charges and was imprisoned in Rochester Castle (1388). However, he must have been soon released, as six months later he appears as Keeper of the Privy Seal, an office which he held till the end of the reign, and even during

the first year and a half of Henry IV. He was a great pluralist, being prebendary of Fenton in the diocese of York, of Leighton Buzzard, Lichfield, and of Cadington Major, London, Dean of York, prebendary of Riccall, York, of Chiswick and of Islington, London, and archdeacon of Middlesex and Canterbury. About April, 1401, Clifford was promoted by papal provision to the see of Bath and Wells, but refused the dignity, the King objecting to the mode of the appointment. He was thereupon promoted to the see of Worcester. In 1402 he helped to conduct Blanche, eldest daughter of Henry IV, to Cologne, and there married her to Louis, son of Rupert, King of the Romans. From Worcester, Gregory XII translated him to London in 1407. In 1413 he was present, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, at the trial of Sir John Oldcastle for heresy, and our knowledge of that great case is derived from the letters upon it, which Clifford received from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Three years later he was appointed one of the English Ambassadors to the Council of Constance. In the deliberations he took a prominent part, and was even proposed for the papacy, and by his vote secured the election of Martin V. He died August 20th, 1421, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

William Hurrelle, dying in 1402, was succeeded by Sir *Simon Membury*, who, four years later, became a prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, probably retaining the rectory until his death in 1423. Under the will of William of Wykeham he received a legacy of ten pounds. The name of his successor is unknown, as

the diocesan registers from 1417 to 1447 are missing. In 1448 Sir *Hugh Combe*, chaplain, was collated by Bishop William of Waynflete to Crawleghe. In 1463, the Bishop, with the consent of the next rector, assigned him a yearly pension of twenty pounds "by reason of his having so long and laudably served the cure, and being unable to do so any longer on account of age and debility of body."

On the resignation of Hugh Combe, Bishop Waynflete collated Master *Guillerm de Laguna*, Bachelor in Decrees, to the parish church of Crauleye. The newcomer was evidently one of the numerous alien incumbents, who at this time enjoyed benefices in England. He held also the rectory of Saint Mary's of the Valleys, near Winchester, from 1459 until his death in 1475, when he was succeeded by Master *Thomas Halle*, S.T.P., Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. He was also a canon of St. Paul's and held the rectories of Dummer and Alverstoke. On his death in 1479, Master *Michael Cleeve*, LL.B., was appointed rector. It is uncertain how long he retained the benefice, and it is probable that he held it until his death in 1501.

Master *Walter Piers*, D.C.L., was apparently the next rector. He is believed to have been of Flemish extraction, and was "a doctor of the civil law in the University of Bologna, where he was held in great admiration for that faculty." His successor, appointed in 1540, was Master *Thomas Runcorn*, who was nominated by King Henry VIII, one of the first twelve prebendaries of Winchester Cathedral. He was like-

wise archdeacon of Bangor and prebendary in the cathedral churches of Chester and Lincoln. An ardent reformer, he resigned all his preferments, in 1554, on the accession of Queen Mary.

On his resignation, Runcorn was succeeded by Master *Thomas Hardyng*, LL.D., an eminent controversialist and scholar. Born at Beckington, Somersetshire, in 1516, he was educated "partly at Barnstaple, but mainly in Wykeham's school at Winchester," where he obtained a scholarship at the age of twelve. From Winchester he passed to New College, Oxford, of which he became Fellow. Being "esteemed a knowing person in the tongues," he was appointed by Henry VIII Regius Professor of Hebrew. About the same time he became chaplain to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and tutor of his daughter, the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey. During the reign of Edward VI he was an ardent supporter of the reformed doctrines, and is said to have "animated the people much to prepare for persecution and never to depart from the Gospel." This zealous protestantism induced the King to issue letters directing the fellows of New College to elect him Warden. On the accession of Mary, however, Hardyng "wheeled about" and accepted Romish views with ardour and, possibly, sincerity. As soon as his apostasy became known to her, Lady Jane Grey wrote to him from her prison a letter of vehement reproach, in which she declares, "I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the Devil; some time

the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan ; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshameful paramour of Antichrist." This vituperation did not move Hardyng, who now became rector of Crawley, prebendary of Winchester, chaplain and confessor to Bishop Gardiner, and treasurer of Salisbury. Of these preferments he was deprived on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, not being prepared to accept another change of religious views. Retiring to Louvain, he was attached to the church of St. Gertrude in that city, whence he opened a violent and scurrilous controversy with Jewel, in the course of which he published, among other works, "A Detection of sundry foul Errors, Slanders, Corruptions, and other false Dealings touching Doctrines and other Matters uttered and practised by Master Jewel." He died at Louvain in 1572, and was buried in the church of St. Gertrude, where a monument with a simple Latin inscription marks his grave.

On New Year's Day, 1559, on the presentation of Queen Elizabeth, *Michael Renniger* (commonly called Rhanger) was instituted to the rectory of Crawley. He was born in Hampshire (1530), presumably at Basingstoke,* as a family of that name dwelt there for several generations, both before and after his time. After receiving his education at Cambridge, he removed to Magdalen College, Oxford. From 1548-1550 he was Greek Lecturer in that college, and in 1551 was

* In 1556 John Renniger, of Basingstoke, was appointed by Cardinal Reginald Pole an alderman of the fraternity of the Holy Ghost in that town. A Renniger was Lord Mayor of London in 1224.

appointed lecturer in natural philosophy. During the reign of Edward VI he was distinguished as a preacher and upholder of the reformed religion, and in 1552 became rector of Broughton, Hants, on the presentation of Robert Renniger. Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, being expelled from his various offices by Bishop Gardiner, he retired to the Continent, living mainly at Strasburg. But in 1554 he was with the English exiles in Zürich, from which place he wrote a letter describing his financial straits. On the death of Queen Mary, Renniger returned to England, was made one of the chaplains of Queen Elizabeth, and zealously championed the Protestant religion. Shortly after becoming rector of Crawley he was installed prebendary of Winchester, "having refused other considerable preferments." As proctor for the chapter of Winchester at the Convocation held in February, 1563, being strongly impregnated with the ultra-protestant doctrines of the Continent, he signed the petition against the use of the cross in baptism, copes, surplices, gowns, caps, and Saints' days. This provoked a great contest, and, when it came to a vote, there were fifty-eight in support of the petition and fifty-nine against the abolition of these things, which were thus retained by a majority of one. Again the Queen's influence was brought to bear, and he was appointed chancellor of Lincoln in 1566, and precentor and prebendary of Empingham in that church in 1567. In the following year he was inducted to the sub-deanery of Lincoln. He was instituted rector of Chilbolton and Archdeacon of Winchester in 1575; became

Canon of St. Paul's in 1583, and was one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed for Winchester in 1597. He died on August 26th, 1609, and was buried in the chancel of Crawley Church,* of which he had been rector over fifty years.

On the death of Michael Renniger, Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, collated Master *Francis Alexander*, LL.B., to the vacant rectory. A Hampshire man, of plebeian extraction, he was born in 1579, and graduated at New College, Oxford. Becoming a Canon of Winchester in 1636, he was treasurer of the cathedral, as a Sheriff's acquittance for that year, acknowledges the receipt "by the hands of Dr. Alexander, Treasurer for the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity in Winchester, of the summe of twenty pounds being in full discharge for the inhabitants within the Close of the said church for their rate in respect of their means there towards the providing of a ship for his Majestie's service this present year." During the Civil War and Commonwealth he was deprived of his preferments. On the abolition of the Dean and Chapter, in 1649, the Parliamentary Commissioners describe "the house lately belongynge to Doctr Frauncis Alexander" as "consistinge of, A large porched dore, with twoe little garden plotts on each side with Apricock Trees, a litle Hall, a faire Parlor wainscotted and rooffe ceiled; a litle Kitchin with Dressers Shelves and other necessities Conduict water runninge into itt through pypes of lead; a Larder one buttery and Pantrey; Twoe litle Courts, a large Woodhouse with twoe small roomes in itt, a litle

* See page 159.

Gallery matted, Eight lodginge Chambers (one of them matted), Twoe litle Closetts, Three Garretts, twoe of them ceeled. A large Court in the midle of the saide house and other necessary rooms, a stable, an old Coachhouse, a Garden Orchard and Nursery Contayninge about three rood . . . the sayde house being for the most parte in good repayre, built with stone and covered with tyle. The said house Garden and Stable valued at Tenn pounds." Dr. Alexander died in the year 1657, and was buried in the cathedral.

In 1655 the Tryers appointed the Reverend *Samuel Tomlyns*, M.A., "a Bartholomean," to the vacant rectory, from which he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Afterwards he "preached privately as he had opportunity," till he was called by a congregation to Winchester, where he continued to preach for nine years, "exposed to great hardships and difficulties on account of his nonconformity." It is stated that his congregation used to meet in a private room in Cheesehill Street, whence he removed to Hilcot, and, after the Act of Toleration, became minister of a congregation in Andover. He died in Marlborough (1700), in the 68th year of his age. His memorialist describes him as "a good critic in Greek and Hebrew, and an excellent textuary; a man of great gravity and wisdom, and a good casuist. He was mighty in the Scriptures, for his head, memory, heart and tongue were full of them; and he had a general reputation as a scholar, a preacher, and a divine." Tomlyns was the author of numerous sermons and "the Humble Sinner's Supplication for Pardon."

In September, 1662, Bishop George Morley collated *Walter Darrell*, D.D., to the rectory, void by the resignation of Samuel Tomlyns, and in the following month appointed him to a canonry of Winchester. Subsequently he was Archdeacon of Winchester, and dying in 1684, was buried in the nave of the cathedral. Doctor Darrell's successor was *Samuel Palmer*, M.A. The son of Samuel Palmer, Esq., of Blandford, Dorset, he was educated at Oxford, and held successively the rectories of Hinton Ampney, Easton, and Mitchelmersh. The last he resigned on accepting that of Crawley, which he held together with a canonry until his death in 1701, when he was succeeded by *Ralph Brideoake*, M.A., son of Ralph Brideoake, Bishop of Chichester. He resigned the rectory of Crawley in the following year on becoming Archdeacon and being collated to St. Mary's, Southampton, which church he rebuilt.

The rectory of Crawley, void by cession, was filled by the appointment of *Robert Wiseman*, M.A., who held it for over fifty-three years. He was the son of Robert Wiseman, surgeon to Charles II, and seems to have been the first resident rector after the Restoration. From that date to his coming the parochial duties had been performed by the curate, John Turner, M.A., who died in 1707, aged 69, having held the curacy of Crawley for forty-six years and the rectory of Lainston for nearly the same period. His wife was Joan Wayte, daughter of a Crawley farmer. Much older than her husband, she died in 1709, at the age of eighty-five. They were both buried beneath the chancel, as was their son, a benefactor of the church.

The next rector was "one of Hoadly's Arians"—*Henry Taylor*, son of William Taylor, a London merchant, who had the repute of a wit and wrote facetious verse. These gifts were inherited by the son, who was born at South Weald, near Brentwood, Essex, in 1711. Receiving his early education at Dr. Newcome's school, Hackney, he there formed a friendship with John Hoadly, son of the Bishop, which was afterwards of material benefit in his career. Passing to Queen's College, Cambridge, he graduated there and became a Fellow of that body (1733). In 1744, Hoadly secured for him the rectory of Baughurst, Hants, which he resigned in the following year on his presentation to the vicarage of Portsmouth. He came to Crawley in 1755, which he held together with Portsmouth until his death. Taylor was one of the clergy petitioning in 1772 for relief from subscription. He omitted the Athanasian creed, but otherwise conformed to the requirements of his position. Dying at Titchfield, in 1785, he was buried in the chancel of Crawley Church alongside of his wife, Christian, daughter of Francis Fox.

Henry Taylor was "the last of the Anglican divines of the school of Clarke." But he outran his master, openly espousing the Apollinarian heresy in a series of letters, professing to be "the Apology of Benjamin Ben Mordecai on embracing Christianity." An ardent controversialist, he dared to measure swords with the great Gibbon in "Thoughts on the Nature of the Great Apostasy." Like his father, he was noted as a wit and a writer of humorous epigrams. That he

could also write verse of high quality is shown in his noble poem on married life, entitled "Paradise Regained." From the ponderous and discursive character of his theological works it is not surprising to learn that his sermons were of inordinate length, so that, when the Rector preached, it was understood that dinner should be half an hour later! According to Cole, he was "a cheerful, lively and sensible little man, very thin, and of no promising appearance." He was a pleasing companion, and "could keep a temperate table in a roar of laughter."

Next in succession came *Edmund Poulter*, M.A., who, as the son-in-law of that flagrant nepotist, Bishop Brownlow North, enjoyed rapid preferment. In 1791 he was collated to a canonry and to the rectory of Meonstoke, whereupon he resigned that of Crawley, which he held conjointly with that of Calbourne, Isle of Wight. There is a window in his memory in the South Transept of the cathedral. Edmund Poulter's successor was *Matthew Woodford*, M.A., son of Sir Ralph Woodford, Bart., of Cheltenham. He had already been created a canon of Winchester, and in 1795 succeeded to the archdeaconry, and the rectory of Calbourne, vacated by Poulter. All these preferments he held until he died in 1807, in his seventieth year, and was buried in the cathedral, where there is a tablet to his memory on the Eastern tower-pier.

His successor was a scion of a noble house—the *Honourable George Augustus Legge*, M.A., eighth son of the third Earl of Dartmouth. Educated at Eton and

Christ Church, he was ordained in 1795. In 1801 he was already a canon of Lichfield, and at the time of his collation to Crawley he was rector of Wonston, which rectory he continued to hold conjointly with his new preferment. In 1814 he was made Archdeacon of Winchester, and three years after installed as a canon of that cathedral, whereupon he resigned Crawley. In 1819 he resigned the archdeaconry and was collated to the rectory of North Waltham, which he held with Wonston, where he resided, until his death. He was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese in 1820, and died suddenly (August 21st, 1828), aged 56 years. Among his many curates at Crawley one at least—Richard Mant—rose to eminence.

Richard Mant, eldest son of Richard Mant, D.D., was born at Southampton (February 12th, 1776). At the age of seven he was elected to a scholarship at Winchester College, which, in consequence of a breach of discipline, he was called upon to resign in 1793. Not being (as was admitted) personally at fault, he refused to do so and was deprived. Proceeding to Oxford as a scholar of Trinity College, after a distinguished academic career, he was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1798, and in the next year won the Chancellor's prize for his essay on English Commerce. Mant then began his long series of poetical publications by verses in memory of his old master at Winchester, Joseph Warton, D.D. After his graduation he was ordained (1802), took a travelling tutorship, and was detained in France during the war until the Peace of Amiens. In 1808 he was curate of Crawley, and two

years later became vicar of Coggleshall, Essex. He was appointed Bampton Lecturer in 1811, when his lectures attracted notice by his vindication of the evangelical character of Anglican preaching against the allegations of the Methodists. In 1820 Lord Liverpool nominated him for an Irish bishopric—that of Killaloe, whence he was translated, in 1823, to the see of Down and Connor. Twenty years later the see of Dromore was added. As triple bishop he died at Ballymoney, Co. Antrim, November 2nd, 1848. Mant was an indefatigable writer, as may be judged from the fact that the bibliography of his publications occupies over five pages of the British Museum catalogue. He was author of forty-three distinct works, of which the most important is his history of the Church of Ireland.

To return to the series of rectors :—*Henry Thomas Dampier*, M.A., succeeded the Hon. G. A. Legge, on the latter's resignation. The eldest son of Sir Henry Dampier, a judge of the Court of King's Bench, he was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, of which foundation he was a Fellow. On leaving the university he was successively domestic chaplain of the Earls of Guildford and Portsmouth. He was twice collated to the rectory of Crawley, firstly on the 9th of May, 1817, and again in January, 1821, on being instituted to the vicarage of West Wratting, Cambridgeshire. In 1829 he was installed as a canon of Ely, and died May 25th, 1831, aged 40 years, having been rector of Crawley, "in which parish he was much and deservedly beloved" fourteen years.

During the next fifty-three years the rectory was held by "the old Archdeacon," *Philip Jacob*, M.A., who died on the 20th of December, 1884, aged 81 years, but still lives in the memory and affection of the parishioners. He was the third son of John Jacob, Esq., of Roath Court, Co. Glamorgan, and Petite Marche, Guernsey, and his wife, Anna Maria Legrand, daughter of George Legrand, Esq., of Canterbury. Educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he graduated M.A. in 1828, becoming rector of Crawley three years later. In 1832 he married Anna, daughter of the Honourable and Reverend George Noel. On the 19th of July, 1834, he was installed as a Canon of Winchester, and, on the presentation of Queen Victoria, became archdeacon in 1860. A zealous educationist, he founded the Crawley village school in 1835, and earnestly promoted the development of public instruction in Winchester. Possessing considerable medical knowledge, he was unremitting in the care of the sick, and such was the general confidence in his skill that "the oldest inhabitant" asserts that "he was better than any doctor." For him the people have composed a brief but eloquent epitaph—"He was a *good* man." Ask any villager about the "old Archdeacon," and those words will invariably preface his reply. One of his sons, Edgar Jacob, was the famous Vicar of Portsea, and is now Bishop of St. Albans. Portraits of the Archdeacon exist in several curious places—on the dripstone of Wootton St. Lawrence Church, and on the large effigy in the centre of the reredos, to the left of the

altar, in Winchester Cathedral. The present Bishop of Guildford was one of the Archdeacon's curates.

On the death of Archdeacon Jacob, the presentation to the vacant rectory fell to the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, the advowson by an order in Council, dated June 29, 1871, having been transferred to the said College, in whose hands it continued until 1896. In consequence they appointed the Reverend *Edward Melford Mee*, M.A., Fellow of that foundation. Educated, first at Westminster, and afterwards at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he owed his fellowship to his brilliant academic career. As rector, he took a deep interest in the parish, and was responsible for the extension of the school and the rebuilding of the chancel. He resigned in 1896, and was succeeded by the present rector, the Reverend *William James Smith*, M.A., who was presented by his uncle, George Bliss, Esq., to whom the advowson had recently been transferred.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

FROM a very early date churchwardens were appointed for the purpose of protecting the edifice and goods of the church, and of collecting funds for their maintenance. The responsibility of the parishioners for the repair of their parish church was recognised as early as 1018 by a law of Canute, enacting that "all folk shall of right help the church-bot."* To this end every adult parishioner, above the age of fourteen, had to make an offering four times a year, at Christmas and Easter, on the patronal feast, and on the dedication feast of the church, or on All Saints day. These offerings were gathered by the churchwardens, who also collected at Easter-time Peter's pence, or "Rome fardynge" and "candle silver." For the upkeep of the church and its services they also levied a tax on dwellings, known as "smoke farthing," from which sprung the later Church rate.

By law, according to a statute of Archbishop Peckham (1280) which remained in force until the Reformation, the churchwardens, as representing the parishioners, were bound to find all that pertained to the services,

* Repair of the church.

such as vestments, chalice, missal, processional cross, paschal candle, etc., and to keep such ornaments in proper repair. In 1305, the scope of these duties was somewhat enlarged. "For the future," says Archbishop Winchelsey, "we will and ordain that the parishioners be bound to provide all the following: Legend,¹ Antiphonal,² Grayle,³ Psalter, Tropary,⁴ Ordinal,⁵ Missal,⁶ Manual,⁷ Chalice, the best Vestment with Chasuble,⁸ Dalmatic,⁹ and Tunicle, and a Cope for the choir with all their belongings (*i.e.*, amice,¹⁰ girdle, maniple,¹¹ and stole); the frontal for the High Altar with 3 cloths; 3 surplices; a rochet¹²; the processional cross; a cross to carry to the sick; a thurible¹³; a lantern; a bell to ring when the body of Christ is carried to the sick; a pyx¹⁴ of ivory or silver for the Body of Christ; the Lenten veil; the Rogationday banner; the bells with their cords; a bier to carry the dead upon; the Holy Water vat; the osculatorium for the Pax¹⁵; the paschal candlestick; a font with its lock and key; the images

¹ A book of lives of the saints, chapters of which were read out at Matins.

² A volume of chants, sung by two parties responding to each other.

³ The "grayle," or "gradual," was a book of ritual music containing all the plain chants.

⁴ A book of chants.

⁵ Containing the service of ordination.

⁶ The book of prayers used in the celebration of the Mass.

⁷ Service book.

⁸ The uppermost garment worn by the priest during Mass.

⁹ A deacon's robe.

¹⁰ A strip of linen, with a piece of embroidered cloth upon it, worn on the shoulder.

¹¹ A species of scarf.

¹² A short surplice worn by choristers.

¹³ A censer for incense.

¹⁴ A sacred vessel to contain the consecrated eucharistic elements.

¹⁵ A tablet, with a picture of Christ or the Virgin upon it, first kissed by the priest and then by the people.

in the church ; the image of the patron saint in the chancel ; the enclosure wall of the cemetery ; all repairs of the nave of the church, interior and exterior ; repairs also in regard to the images of the crucifix and of the saints and to the glazed windows ; all repairs of books and vestments, when such restorations shall be necessary." Such is a comprehensive list of the church property and the duties of the churchwardens prior to the Reformation.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the Act of Uniformity of 1559, the churchwardens were enjoined to see that "every person shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayer, preachings or other service of God." Upon every person offending against this enactment, and for every such offence, the churchwardens were to levy a fine of twelve pence "to the use of the poor of the parish." Another duty of the churchwardens was to maintain order in the church during service. Thus in an elaborate series of articles by Bishop Morley, of the year 1662, they are instructed "to see that none bring hunting dogs into church, sit, lean, or lay their hats on the Communion table." Together with the incumbent, overseers of the poor, and rate collector, they were responsible for the administration of the Poor Law and other branches of local government.

The existing accounts of Crawley Parish date from

1766. They are characterised by a magnificent disregard of orthography, and the successive churchwardens seem to have vied with one another in devising a new way of spelling "surplice," which appears in the varying forms of "cirpules," "sirpulace," and "serpiles." Subjoined are a few of the more quaint and interesting entries:—

		£	s	d
1766.	people burnt att sea - - - -		1	0
1770.	Expences att the Archdeaken's vissitaion -		5	6
1773.	paid for new sirpulace - - - -	3	17	6
1779.	P ^d Mr Cave's Bill for Boards & Writing y ^e ten Commandments ¹ - - - -	1	19	0
1789.	the glaseyears Bill - - - -		4	2
1793.	paid for sparrow heads - - - -	1	0	1
1794.	Wm Pern's bill for sparrow heads - -	1	12	0
	Gave the Ringers for 1st of June ² -		10	6
1797.	Paid for Ringing Beating Duch fleet Oct 11 ³		10	6
1798.	Gave for ringing & for beating french fleet Oct 3 ⁴ - - - -		7	6
	Nov 10 paid on a count Victory - -		2	0
	paid for old sparrow heads 18 dozen & 5		19	2½
1800.	Subscribed to Hospital - - - -	2	12	6
1801.	paid for sucer for Hall, when ill - -		14	9½
1805.	Nov 13 paid for Nelson's victory - -		15	0
1806.	Paid for Hegg Hogg cot in Pittle ⁵ -		3	0
	Deane for his misforton by litning - -	1	1	0
1807.	paid for boldre fier in hants - - -		2	6
	paid expences at tythes setling - -	2	0	8
1808.	hegg hoggs - - - -		15	0

¹ Now in the Church Institute (P)

² Lord Howe's victory off Ushant—"the glorious 1st of June."

³ Duncan's victory off Camperdown.

⁴ Battle of the Nile—August 2nd.

⁵ A field at the bottom of the village, on the Winchester road.

			£	s	d
1808.	July 28	Paid Mr Wickham's Bill for (cow pox) innoeklation ⁶ - - - -	5	0	0
		paid John Bownes ⁷ for sparrow heads -		1	6
		Paid glaz ^{rs} bill for Poor house - -	14	7	
1809.		Gave to Ringers for victory at sea - -	7	6	
		paid Parish part in Bassoon ⁸ - -	2	10	0
1810.	Oct 25	Paid for Ringing Birth & Croun- nation days - - - - -	10	0	
1811.	May 14,	Two letters - - - - -	1	0	
		Paid expences at the Return of population	2	6	
		Paid parish letter on account of Th. fifield		11	
1812.	July 29,	For Ringing Mr Meyler's Birthday	1	0	0
	Oct 21	paid sweeping 38 poor chimneys	19	0	
1813.		Paid Hanking for white loves - - -	4	0	
	May 13,	Bot of Mr Petter Cook 1 Parish Iron Chest to hold Book - - -	6	0	0
		Gave Ringers on the Victory of Wellenton over the french Armeý (news came July 4) - - - - -	16	0	
	Sept 6,	Gave a crasey girl in Distress -	2	6	
1814.	Jan 13,	Bot of Mr. Jacob Book for entering Banns of Marriage in Crawley Church	8	0	
		On account of peace, for ringers beer &c &c	3	0	0
1821.		Paid post for an order made out in Wales to Crawley Parish to Thos Nevil in great distress, a servant of the late Richard Meyler Esq - - -	2	1	
	June 19,	Ringers King's Coronation day	5	0	
1823.	June 3,	Diet money for New Bishop -	18	11½	
		A letter from Portsmouth - - -		4	

⁶ An epidemic of small pox in this year. In the Parish Register are the following entries under Burials:—

1808, July 1st, Mary, daughter of William & Ann Herring, an infant—
died in the smallpox.

July 3rd, John Piper, aged about 70, in the small pox.

July 16th, Phineas Brown, aged about 51, in the small pox.

⁷ The man whose grave bears the quaint epitaph.

For orchestra in church: no organ then.

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		<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
1824.	paid Blacksmith's bill for repairing stocks	2	0
1828.	Nov 5, Gave ringers as yousell - -	5	0

At the end of the accounts for the year 1831, someone has carefully recorded for the benefit of posterity the following important events:—

March 14, Sowed the flower seeds.

„ 24, The first chicken hatched out.

With these notes the old book ends. On the coming of the new Rector—the Rev. Philip Jacob, M.A.—a new book was begun, and was kept mainly by Mr. George Godwin, and his successor Mr. William Allee, both of whom were churchwardens for nearly fifty years.

The churchwardens, until recently, had charge of the charity known as “the White Loaves,” the origin and nature of which are set forth in the following transcription:—

“By indenture, bearing date 1st December, 1787, between John Page and George Godwin, trustees for the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of Crawley, by consent of Robert Pitter, yeoman, of the one part, and Lawrence Darking, of the other part, reciting a lease from the Bishop of Winchester, bearing date in 1767, to the said Robert Pitter and four others, of a parcel of land in the parish of Crawley, late wood-ground and then arable, theretofore part of a wood, called Northwood, for 21 years, at the yearly rent of 20s. ; and reciting also, that the said Robert Pitter, being entitled to a proportion of the premises in that lease comprised, on 7th April, 1768, in consideration of £26. 12s. 4d., mortgaged the same to the said John Page and George Godwin and two others, in trust for the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of Crawley; and further reciting that the said lease had often been renewed, and lastly, in 1788, in the name of Robert Pitter, yeoman,

would have continuance during the remainder of the term granted on the last-mentioned renewal, subject to the said mortgage; and further reciting that there was then due from the said Robert Pitter, yeoman, to the churchwardens and overseers, on the said security, £26. 12s. 4d., and that the said Lawrence Darking had agreed for the purchase of the interest of the said Robert Pitter, yeoman, and of the said trustees in the said leasehold premises for £20, the said John Page and George Godwin as trustees as aforesaid, in consideration of that sum, assigned to the said Lawrence Darking, the said premises, being $3\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land, therein particularly described;

“It is stated that Robert Pitter, having in his possession the sum of £26. 12s. 4d. belonging to the parish, and, being called upon for a security, executed the above recited mortgage of 1768, and that in consequence of the deficiency between the £20 produced by the sale of his interest and the sum of £26. 12s. 4d. due from him, a subscription was raised in the parish, by which the whole of the money was increased to £32. This sum was placed in the hands of Mr. Thomas Pern at £4. per cent interest, and was afterwards in the hands of his son Thomas Pern, till the death of the latter, when it came into the hands of his widow, who paid the interest thereof until her death in the summer of 1823. We were assured that the money would be shortly paid by her representative, and deposited in the names of the rector and churchwardens in a savings bank.

“It has been customary for many years to dispose of the interest, being £1. 5s., on the Sunday fortnight before Easter, in the purchase of 34 dozen of halfpenny loaves, amounting altogether to 17s.; two dozen of twopenny loaves, amounting to 4s.; two dozen of penny loaves, 2s.; and six plumb cakes, 1s.; and in the payment of 1s. to the baker for baking the loaves, making in the whole £1. 5s.

“Every person in the parish who chooses to apply for a halfpenny loaf, receives one.

“The twopenny loaves are given to the poorest people, and such as have the largest families, and the penny loaves to poor widows and widowers. Two of the plumb cakes are given to the rector, and two to each of the churchwardens.”

The money is now invested in the Post Office Savings Bank, and the annual interest, amounting to sixteen shillings, is expended in small loaves, which are distributed among the parishioners who apply for them.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PARISH REGISTER.

BEFORE the Reformation no regular system of registration appears to have existed. The first mandate for keeping registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials in each parish was issued in 1538 by Thomas Cromwell, as Vicar-General, who soon complained of the "grugge or myscontentacyon" against the register books. It is, therefore, the exception to find parish registers of this early date. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth the injunction was repeated in more rigorous terms, but, not being regularly observed, it was ordained in 1597 that parchment register books should be purchased at the expense of each parish, and that in them all names from the older books should be entered. Crawley, like most other parishes, has lost its early register, which presumably disappeared during the Civil War, and the existing book was "bought in the yeare of our Lord, 1672, by Robert Pitter and Richard Long, Churchwardens." In some respects the register has been more carefully kept than many in other parishes, although there are numerous omissions and inaccuracies.

The earliest entry, made over twenty years after

the event, is the record of the baptism of Sarah, daughter of John and Abegaile Godwine, September 10th, 1646. The early records, especially of marriages and burials, seem to be very imperfect. This is possibly due to the Act of 1694, laying a tax on births, marriages, burials, bachelors and widowers, which led to people keeping their children unbaptised or having the services of the Church performed privately at home. Consequently, in 1695, it was enacted that within five days of the birth of a child, notice thereof and a fee of sixpence should be given to the parochial clergyman. In 1706 another Act was passed, in which it was stated that in most parishes very heavy penalties had been incurred through disobedience to the statute of 1695.

Deficiencies of parish registers may be attributed to several causes; firstly, the strong and long-prevailing dislike of clergy and laity to the system of compulsory registration; secondly, to the habitual non-residence, negligence, and, not seldom, drunkenness of the clergy; thirdly, the carelessness of the custodians of the parish records, often the parish clerks, who made what entries they chose. A significant entry, to be found in the Crawley register, is this: "I have no register for my parish of Lanston, but here I register the marriage of Will Ireland and Mary Perkins, both of Lanstone, who were married July 23 : 1700."

A statute of 1679 rendered persons who buried a corpse, without making an affidavit, liable to a penalty of £5. Hence such notices as this :—" Henry Dooly,

Esq., was buried May 8: 1703, affidavit from Mr. Baber, May 15: 1703."

Among the baptismal records occur the following :

"Sarah Riggs, the daughter of a wandering woman, baptised Jan. 22, 1692."

"The wife of Mr. Carter, a papist, was delivered of a female child the 19th day of March, 1694: it was named Mary. This child was not baptised by me, nor by any other clergyman of the Church of England, as far as I know."

"The Lady Elizabeth Parsons, daughter of the Lord Viscount Ross, was baptised Sep. 30, 1712."

"Live and Lett Stanley, daughter of Thomas and Mary Stanley (gypsies), Dec. 26, 1758."

There is also the usual long list of "briefs," which seem generally to have been read in vain. Briefs were Royal Letters Patent, authorising collections for charitable purposes to be made in church. The varied character of these appeals may be judged from the following instances, taken from Crawley register:—

1708, May 30.	Lisbourne in Ireland.	Collection	-	3s. 0d.
1709, May 21.	Edinburgh Fire.	"	-	—
Oct. 3.	The Palitines	-	-	7s. 10d.
	Protestant Church at Mittau	-	-	—

The repair and rebuilding of churches were almost invariably effected in this way. About the middle of the eighteenth century, owing to their growing frequency, it was ordered that they should only be granted on the formal application of Quarter Sessions. They were abolished in 1828.

Besides the formal registration, there are in the register many entries of general and local interest.

The following record, for instance, arose from legislation, designed to promote and protect the woollen industry, which made it compulsory to shroud corpses in woollen material only.

William Bruning of the parish of Crawley in the County of Southampton maketh oath that Anne Bruning of the parish of Crawley in the county of Southampton, lately deceased, was not put in, wrapt, or wound up, or buried in any shirt, shift, sheet, or shroud made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold, or sylver or other then what is made of sheep's wool only ; nor in any coffen lined or faced with any cloth, stuff, or any other thing whatsoever made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or sylver or any other materiall but sheepswool only, dated 24th day of October in the 30th year of the raighn of our sovereign Lord Charles the Secound, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland anno Dni 1678.

sealed and subscribed by us who were present

& witnesses to the swearing of the above said affidavit Mary Barlow
Will Benton

I Oliver St John Esq one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Southton doe hereby certifie that the day and year above said the said William Bruning came before me and made such affidavit as is above specified according to a late act of parliment intituled an act for burying in woollen: * witness my hand the day and year above written

St. John

Under the date of April 20th, 1684, is inscribed a
 "memorandum y^t then Samuella Palmer, Rector of
 this church of Crawley did

1st read ye morning and evening prayer.

2ndly declare his assent & consent to all things contained

* This Act remained in force and was generally observed until its repeal in 1821. A similar Act for Scotland required dead bodies to be enveloped in linen.

in & prescribed by ye booke intituled ye booke of Comon prayer administration of ye Sacraments &c.

3dly made ye declaration in ye act of Uniformity that it is unlawfull upon any pretence whatsoever to take Armes &c.

4thly reade ye certificate from ye Ld Bp of Winton y^t he had made ye said declaration before his Ldship.

5thly reade ye 39 Articles of Religion and declared his Assent and Consent to y^m.

Jo Turner, Curate
Sydney Simes
Henery Allen
Robert Pitter

John Rothwell
John Thomson
George Penton
John Toulfree

There is also a similar memorandum to the effect that on

"Sunday ye 13th day of December 1702 Robert Wiseman Clerke Master of Arts Rec of Crawley with ye Chapel of Hunton did in ye parish Church of Crawley aforsaid during divine service read ye 39 Articles of religion with ye ratification thereof and did declare his unfeigned assent and consent to 'em in presence of us

John Turner, Curate.

The H mark of Henry Long } Churchwardens."
William Godwin

Two benefactions are recorded in the following terms :—

"Crawley Church ceil^d in ye year 1713 by ye Benefaction of ye Right Hon^{ble} ye Earl of Galloway (Galway), who gave eight pounds for ye doing of ye same."

"Mr. Walter Turner, of London, gave to the Parish of Crawley in ye year 1718 a large Comon Prayer Book, & Comunion Cloth, with a Pulpit Cloth, desk cloth and cushions of ye same."

This Mr. Walter Turner was the son of the

Reverend John Turner, mentioned above. He was born in Crawley in 1668, and is buried in the Chancel.

The history of the acquisition of a piece of land is set forth at some length, and can be followed through its successive stages :—

(i). 1767. “The Rev^d Mr. Henry Taylor, Rector of Crawley, having given me leave to build at the end of his garden wall, in the Street, a mud wall adjoyning to my house, enclosing about 5 or 6 square yds. of ground, I promise to pay the said Mr. Henry Taylor one peny per annum for use of the said ground as long as I shall hold it, and to destroy the said wall whenever he or any of his successors shall order me to do so.”

Witness William Waight.
Ann Wiltshire.

John Butterly.

(ii). Oct. 2, 1799. “The pigstye in the Corner of the Drove near the Gate of the Farm Yard was allowed to be placed there by Mr. Taylor’s leave, which Mr. Woodford has not withdrawn, but it is only by sufferance—Geo. Cooke having no right to it.”

Matthew Woodford, Rector.

(iii). “I gave the above named piece of ground to the said Geo. Cooke, in consideration of his making a good and substantial fence to same.”

H. G. Legge, Rector.

Of the various families now resident in the village only three have been here more than two hundred years, namely, those of Paige, Godwin, and Browning. The first of these has lived in the village at least four centuries, as the names of members of the family occur in the muster rolls of 1523, when John Page was apparently the most substantial yeoman in the place. The Godwins first

appeared in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Perns, who came into the parish about the middle of the next century, are believed to be descended from an old Flemish stock, which settled in East Anglia shortly after the Norman Conquest. In 1197 Walkelin de Perne held land in Guilden Morden, Cambridgeshire, which his descendant retained in 1370. The pedigree of the family has been traced back to John Perne of E. Bilney, Norfolk, from whom sprung Andrew Perne, D.D., Dean of Ely (1519-1589), and Andrew Perne, Master of Charterhouse, Cambridge, who died in 1616. The latter was one of the four principal doctors, who received Queen Elizabeth at Cambridge in 1564, and preached before her in King's College Chapel. On his sermon being ended, "her Grace sent him word that it was the first sermon she had ever heard *ad clerum* and the best." There were at least fourteen clergymen in the family at different periods. One, Andrew Perne, rector of Wilby during the Commonwealth, was a noted Puritan and a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The final vowel dropped from the name towards the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Another interesting pedigree, connected with Crawley, is that of Mr. T. Grace, whose father kept the "Fox and Hounds" in the middle of the nineteenth century. Members of his family have traced its descent from the lords of county Kilkenny, Ireland, who were the descendants of a follower of William the Conqueror. Through its numerous ramifications

this family became allied at various epochs with most of the noblest houses in the Kingdom. The names of other families, still represented in the village, first appear in the parish register as follows:—Bramble, 1762; Gaiger, 1763; Piper, 1764; Burrows, 1781; Sandom, 1782; Brown, 1783; Cuell (Kewell), 1785; Steele, 1787; Turton, 1804.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ROOKLEY.

THE property known by this name was enfranchised in the year 1670 by Thomas Hobbs, Doctor of Medicine, and court-physician to King William III. He built the existing house, the front of which, however, is a modification of much later date. His only son predeceased him, being "drowned in the river Rhine near Utrecht," as his monument in Ashley Church testifies. By his will made, in 1697, shortly before his death, Hobbs offered his wife as a jointure house either his town residence in Lincoln's Inn Fields or Rookley. She selected the former, and, for a short time, the latter was occupied by Dutton Gifford, Esq. But in 1701 it passed into the possession of the brave and noble Earl of Galway, who held it until his death in 1720.

Henry de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny, better known in English history as Earl of Galway, was born on the 9th of April, 1648, at his father's house in the Faubourg St. Germain, Paris, and was the eldest son of Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, Marquis de Ruvigny and Renneval, a French general of repute,



HENRI MASSUE DE RUVIGNY, EARL OF GALWAY.

Deputy General of the Huguenots at the Court of Versailles, sometime ambassador to the English court, and uncle of Rachel, widow of the patriot and martyr Lord William Russell. Entering the French Army at an early age, from 1672-1675, he served in the war against Germany, as aide-de-camp to Marshal Turenne, and after the battle of Ensheim was given command of the Regiment de Cornas. His connection with the Russell family forming a plausible pretext, the young Marquis was sent early in 1678 by Louis XIV to England, to endeavour, by intriguing with the leaders of the Opposition, to detach Charles II from the Dutch alliance. In the same year he was chosen Deputy General of the Huguenots to succeed his father. Ruvigny laboured earnestly, but unsuccessfully, to avert the persecution of his co-religionists, and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he declined Louis' offer of exceptional treatment for himself and retired to England. In 1689 he entered the English service as a major-general of horse, and by so doing forfeited his splendid estates in France.

Ruvigny proceeded to Ireland, and at the battle of Aughrim, by his spirited attack at a critical moment, largely contributed to the success of the English arms. After serving in the siege of Limerick, he took part in the negotiations for its capitulation. On the 25th of November, 1692, he was created Viscount Galway and Baron Portarlington, shortly after receiving a grant of the forfeited estates of Sir Patrick Trant amounting to more than 58,000 acres, and worth over £3,000 a year. The following year Galway left Ireland to join

the army in Flanders, where he commanded the English cavalry at the battle of Landen, and displayed conspicuous bravery in covering William's retreat at the bridge of Neerhespen. Later in the year he was sent as envoy extraordinary to the Court of Turin, where he proved no match for the treacherous diplomacy of the Duke. In 1697 he was made Earl of Galway, and was appointed by the King's command one of the Lords Justices for the government of Ireland. This appointment was due to his devotion to William's interests, his indifference to party politics, his high personal character, and his perfect disinterestedness. For various reasons his influence on the course of Irish affairs was small, though Galway seems to have liked Ireland and the Irish people, to whom he showed himself always just and charitable. In the interval of public business he devoted himself to the development of his estates, of which, however, he was deprived in 1700 by the Act of Resumption. Personally he was not much affected by the loss; but William, who felt it keenly, gave him a pension of £1,000 per annum and made him General of the Dutch forces. In 1701 the Earl retired from the government of Ireland and accompanied the King to the Continent. On William's death he returned to England and took up his residence at Rookley, to be near his cousin Lady Russell, who lived at Stratton. Macky describes him at this time as "one of the finest gentlemen in the Army, with a head fitted for the Cabinet as well as the camp; very modest, vigilant, and sincere; a man of honour and honesty, without pride or affecta-

tion; wearing his own hair, plain in his dress and manners.”

After a laborious and stormy manhood, the gallant Earl, at the age of 54, settled in the country with great thankfulness, and soon became so enamoured with his study and his garden that he hoped to be left in quiet for the remainder of his days. However, though in retirement, he was not forgotten, for in the year 1704 there appeared at the door one of the Queen's carriages, with the message that the Earl of Galway was wanted at Court. He had no choice but to be driven to Windsor, where he received the Queen's orders to take the command of her forces in Portugal. Lord Galway begged leave to decline on account of his age and his growing infirmities, but eventually yielded to pressure and assumed command. In 1705 his right hand was shattered at the siege of Badajoz. In the next Spring, by an admixture of firmness and address, the Earl succeeded in overcoming the Portuguese opposition to his projected march on Madrid. Though so weak that he had to be lifted into the saddle, he drove the Duke of Berwick from the Guadiana, entered Madrid, and maintained himself there for six weeks, but as the Archduke Charles joined him too late, the opportunity was lost. Though weakened by the withdrawal of Charles, Galway, hearing that Berwick was marching on Almanza, determined to attack him there. The battle was lost, and the Earl himself received a sabre cut over the right eye, which deprived him of sight and forced him to quit the field.

He had long desired to be relieved of his post, having lost an arm, an eye, and his "best friend—his appetite," while he was partially deaf, and constantly troubled with the gout. In December his wish was complied with, and he was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the Court of Lisbon. However, in 1709, he was again in the field, and commanded the English contingent at the battle on the Caya, displaying great personal bravery. His horse was killed under him and he narrowly escaped capture. But age and infirmity were pressing heavily upon him, and he was glad when he was recalled in the following year.

The old hero once more took up his abode in Rookley, and country life was even sweeter than before to the toil-worn veteran. Lady Russell writes:—"Selwood tells me your appearance is very comfortable, and if I get to Hampshire, I trust I shall see it so." Lord Galway had no expectation that his connection with Ireland would again be more than nominal. He had no ambition to quit Rookley. But in 1715 it was felt advisable, in view of the Jacobite rising, to place the government of Ireland in firm hands. Accordingly the Dukes of Grafton and Galway were nominated Lords Justices, but resigned in the following year on the appointment of Lord Townshend as Viceroy. The old Earl then returned to spend the evening of his days at Rookley. In one of her last letters to him Lady Russell wrote:—"Tomorrow your health will not be omitted, daughter Devon and Mr. Charlton being to dine here; as I hope to do with yourself at Rookley, and also at old



RACHEL WRIOTHESLEY

Lady Russell.

Stratton, where you will be kindly welcome, as I am entirely assured I shall be at your Rookley. God, for the good that you do to mankind, grant you some easy years to do good upon earth, before you change to a happy eternity. So does desire and pray Lord Galway's truly affectionate cousin, and faithfully such, to gratify to the utmost of her ability, Rachel Russell."

He died while on a visit to his cousin at Stratton House, and having in his will expressed the desire to be buried "privately in the churchyard of the parish wherein I shall happen to depart this life," was buried in Micheldever churchyard (Sept. 6: 1720). Never did the grave close over a nobler and truer gentleman and soldier. To his cousin, Lady Russell, his senior by twelve years, he bequeathed the bulk of his property, but among his numerous legacies was one of £10 for the poor of Crawley, "to be administered by the curate and churchwardens."

The story of Lady Russell, who now succeeded to the property, is confined to private life except in one lamentable particular. Yet so transcendent were her merits in every relation of existence, that few persons have been more largely celebrated. Her character seems to have embraced all the virtues. To a lofty courage and magnanimity it united the most feminine tenderness and mildness, and "sweetened and relieved a sagacity, which often amounted almost to wisdom, with the simplicity and candour of an amiable child, and with the patience and resignation of a saint." She was the second daughter of that minister of spotless

honesty, Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, by his first wife Rachel, daughter of Henri de Massue, Marquis of Ruvigny. She was born about the year 1636, and, her mother dying during her infancy, her education is said to have been neglected : a report, the correctness of which is rendered at least doubtful by the language and expression of her letters. In 1669 she married the ill-fated Lord William Russell, son of the fifth Earl, and first Duke, of Bedford. Never was matrimonial union blessed with more perfect felicity, until Russell became involved in the political conspiracy which ended in his trial and execution in 1683. During his trial she displayed heroic affection and composure, and spared no effort to obtain a mitigation of the sentence. After his death she retired to the country, living chiefly at Stratton, and there gave way in solitude to her sorrow. She had yet to encounter severe distress. Her only son Wriothesley fell a victim to the smallpox in 1711, and the second of her two daughters, Catherine, Duchess of Rutland, died shortly after in childbirth. Always most solicitous for others, she gave proof of her tenderness and forethought at this painful moment. Her eldest daughter Rachel, Duchess of Devonshire, being confined at the same time and making anxious inquiries after her sister's health, the mother replied without a moment's hesitation, " Your sister is very well ; I have this morning seen her out of bed," and it was true, for she had seen her in her coffin. Lady Rachel died September 29th, 1723, at the age of 87, and was buried in the family vault at Chenies.

The Rookley property was bequeathed by Lady Russell to her granddaughter, Lady Frances Manners, who was the daughter of John, second Duke of Rutland, by his marriage with Lady Rachel's daughter, Catherine. Lady Frances Manners married the Hon. Richard Arundel, second son of Lord Arundel of Trerice, and retained Rookley until her death in 1768. Her sister Elizabeth married John Monckton, Esq., a landed proprietor of Yorkshire, in whose favour George II revived the title of Viscount Galway in 1727. Their son William, the second Viscount, became the heir of his maternal aunt, the Lady Frances Arundel, who died childless, and assumed her surname. Hence the name of his lineal descendant, the present and seventh Viscount, is Monckton Arundell, and he is connected with the old Earl as being descended from the Duchess of Rutland, to whom the Earl bore the relationship of "first cousin, once removed." In 1769 and for a few years after Rookley was tenanted by the Rev. Geo. Hare.

From 1776 to 1783 Rookley House was occupied as a hunting lodge by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, and from this epoch dates the pseudo-Gothic front, a style due mainly to the taste and influence of Horace Walpole. The Duke is often confounded with the son of George II, who was afterwards King of Hanover, but he was in fact a brother of the former monarch, being the fourth son of Frederick, Prince of Wales. He was born in 1745, and was christened Henry Frederick. On attaining his majority he received the title of his late uncle "The Butcher."

His career was marked by continuous debauchery, and frequent scandal. Grievous censure fell on his governor and preceptor, and not less on his mother the Princess, so totally had his education been neglected. Till the age of twenty-one he had been locked up with his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and thence sallied into a life of profligacy. Horace Walpole gives a damning sketch of his character. "Though not tall, he did not want beauty, but with the babbling disposition of his brother (Edward, Duke of York) he had neither the parts nor the condescension of the latter: familiarising himself with bad company, and yet presuming on a rank which he degraded and, notwithstanding, made an annoyance. He was pert, insolent, senseless, and not unwillingly brutal." In 1770 for two months he made himself the talk of the town owing to his intrigue with the Countess of Grosvenor, as a result of which her husband Richard, the first Earl, recovered £10,000 damages against the Prince in an action for criminal conversation brought before Lord Mansfield. Their letters were produced at the trial, and never was a public regaled with a collection of greater folly. Yet to the lady's honour, be it said, that "bating a few oaths, which sounded more masculine than tender, the advantage in grammar, spelling, and style was all in her favour. His Royal Highness's diction and learning scarce exceeded that of a cabin boy, as those eloquent epistles may testify."

Not content with the unenviable notoriety he had gained in this case, the following year he again startled

society by eloping to Calais and there marrying the Honourable Anne Luttrell, daughter of Lord Irnham, afterwards Earl of Carhampton, and widow of Christopher Horton, Esq., of Catton Hall, Derbyshire. She was sister of the Colonel Luttrell, whom the Court crammed into the House of Commons instead of Wilkes, and is thus humorously described by a contemporary : " The new Princess of the Blood is a young widow of twenty-four, extremely pretty, not handsome, very well made, with the most amorous eyes in the world, and eyelashes a yard long. Coquette beyond measure, artful as Cleopatra, and completely mistress of all her passions and projects. Indeed eyelashes three-quarters of a yard shorter would have served to conquer such a head as she has turned." Though the Duchess was not unworthy of her exalted station, her husband, perhaps for that reason, was not much attached to her, in fact " the honeymoon was waned to less than half before he left England." This escapade of the Duke, it may be mentioned, was the cause of the famous Royal Marriage Act.

While at Rookley the Duke's interests were mainly absorbed in hunting and horse-racing, as may be gathered from the frequent notices in the local newspaper to the effect that " H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland's hounds are arrived in Hampshire, and will hunt a stag which will be turned out on Monday morning next at nine o'clock at the Deluge Hut," or that " H.R.H. with his horse Constructor won a match of £1,000 on Stockbridge Down last Wednesday." As a royal prince, he was naturally popular in the neigh-

bourhood, and his birthday was always duly celebrated with bell-ringing and bonfires. Among his visitors was the young Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, who possibly here first met his future wife, Mrs. Fitzherbert, as her father then lived at Red Rice. In 1789 it was announced that the Prince of Wales was "going to take Rookley, late the residence of the Duke of Cumberland, as a sporting seat," but, instead, he took Kempshott Lodge, near Basingstoke, and three years later purchased Stockbridge House.

The Duke of Cumberland was succeeded by a gentleman of the name of Ballard, who gave place in 1795 to the Reverend R. Taunton, LL.D. Richard Meyler, of Crawley House, rented the place in 1798 for the accommodation of the Prince of Wales, whence the popular title of "the King's house." In 1800 the house became the property of George Lovell, Esq., who lived there for nearly half a century until he died at the age of ninety-two. He was the son of the Reverend Edmund Lovell of Wells, Somersetshire, was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and in the course of a successful legal career was Recorder of Axminster. He possessed an excellent library, and kept what is vulgarly known as "a good table." His tomb is in the churchyard, immediately to the left of the porch.

During his early years the great novelist, William Makepeace Thackeray, was a frequent visitor to Rookley and Ashley, a fact which doubtless accounts for the name of Queen's Crawley in *Vanity Fair*. The locality exactly corresponds, being near Winchester,

and within driving distance of Southampton. Beyond the name there is no other connection between the village and the novel. It would be interesting if it could be proved that the character of Sir Pitt was drawn from some local resident, for we have it on the novelist's authority that the baronet was drawn from life. "I like your novel exceedingly," said a lady, "the characters are so natural, all but the baronet, and he is surely overdrawn; it is impossible to find such coarseness in his rank of life!" The author laughed. "That character," said he, "is almost the only exact portrait in the book." Thackeray's daughter, Mrs. Anne Ritchie, thinks that the original lived at Addiscombe, Surrey, though Professor Thorold Rogers, who was a Hampshire man, declares that even in his day there were many squires and baronets in the county who, while proud of their pedigrees, in dress, language, and mode of life, could scarcely be distinguished from the labourers around them. So Thackeray need not have gone far to find a Sir Pitt, but there is no evidence of his having found him in Crawley.

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